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Announcing
The MACIVER AWARD
to
ERVING GOFFMAN
1961

The MacIver Award to the author of a publication which contributed in an outstanding degree to the progress of sociology during the two preceding years is awarded this year to:

ERVING GOFFMAN

The University of California, Berkeley

for his book *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*
(Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc.,
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The work is a brilliant analytical essay on interaction among persons. It has already stimulated both empirical study and further theoretical analysis.

The Award carries an honorarium of five hundred dollars. The MacIver Lectureship is to be given by Professor Goffman during 1961-1962 before a meeting of an affiliated regional society other than that of his own region.

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This is the fourth MacIver Award of the Association. Previous recipients were: E. Franklin Frazier; Reinhard Bendix; August B. Hollingshead and Fredrick C. Redlich.

September 1, 1961

ROBERT E. L. FARIS
President

AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

December, 1961

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REFLECTIONS ON THE ABILITY DIMENSION IN HUMAN SOCIETY *

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

The supply of mental ability is important in many ways to human welfare and happiness, in the near future and the long run. Contrary to traditional beliefs, the present limits of ability in our society are not set by genetic factors, but to an important extent by sociological conditions, which support a sort of "collective ability." The prospects for an early important increase in the collective ability in the United States are favorable. Some of this will follow automatically if present economic and educational trends continue. Some depends on the acceptance of responsibility by sociology for systematic research in the field of social causation of high ability.

THE survival and welfare of every person on earth rests on organization. In simple organizations, as in prehistoric societies, only small populations can exist. Our immense contemporary civilization survives luxuriously only by virtue of a base of elaborate organization.

More extensive organizations can support more population at high standards of living. As Ogburn has shown, among modern nations differences in living standards are related not so much to inequality of resources as to differences in complexity of organization.¹

We cannot have intricate systems without a supply of high and conspicuous ability in the population. Scarcity of abilities is palpably a major and conspicuous obstacle to progress in some of the currently developing nations.²

* Presidential address read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, St. Louis, September, 1961.

¹ William F. Ogburn, "Population, Private Ownership, Technology, and the Standard of Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (January, 1951), pp. 314-319.

² Brazil, for example, has immense wealth of resources, in arable land, hydro-electric potential, forest, fish, rubber, iron, bauxite, and probably oil. Sixty-seven million persons inhabit the coun-

try, but half are barefoot, undernourished, and illiterate. Two-thirds of the children get no schooling. *Time*, June 30, 1961.

It also appears that, in our own economy, the supply of ability is a factor in its potential growth rate. The present concern about automation bears on the point. Assuming that we do not elect to arrest further automation, the solution to technological unemployment must lie in the stimulation of a marked increase in the growth rate of the Gross National Product, and this in turn obviously requires an augmented supply of the various kinds of ability involved in inventing and organizing. There will have to be new products if we are to employ the persons no longer needed on farms and unskilled laboring jobs. These new devices will have to be developed at a greater rate than the already high pace of invention.

The current tempo, which we must outrun, is illustrated by the observation that eighty per cent of the sales of the Radio Corporation of America are of products unknown a little over a decade ago, and by a recent forecast of the Du Pont Company that at least 60 per cent of its 1975 sales revenue will be from products now in their introductory

stages or still to be invented. It has also been predicted that within the next three years, in the transportation industry, almost 30 per cent of its sales dollar will come from products either new or so changed as to be considered new. Chemical research, an immensely important component of all inventive activity, measured by published volume, has doubled from 1950 to 1960. While these selected examples may over-represent the present pace of technical innovation, they give a useful impression that the needed acceleration is from an already swift-moving rate of development.

Present population trends do not give a prospect of an early automatic increase in the proportion of productive persons, for the U.S. population is now bulging at the young and old ages. We will have 16 per cent more population in the United States by the end of the present decade, but only a three per cent increase in the most creative ages of 25-44. This fact clearly intensifies the urgency of artificial stimulation of capacities in the part of the population that must bear the mental burdens.

It does not suffice to have a limited stock of geniuses at the top of the productive organization. The need is equally great for a wide distribution, throughout the society, of personal characteristics favorable to the operation of elaborate technology and organization. While mankind has always correctly sought for able leaders, we have chronically over-emphasized the importance of a few great men in the growth of civilization, and have failed to appreciate the importance of distributed ability. Advanced achievements, we now realize, rest not only on the shoulders of generals, statesmen, and inventors, but importantly on the skills, muscles, and morale of the common soldier, the curiosity and optimism of minor technicians, and also the inconspicuous crevice processes of custom and law-building which underlie all governmental structure.

Elaborate technology is not alone capable of upholding a civilization. It fails without a wise distribution of machine skills. The ingenious products of the inventor's mind must be continually maintained, improved, repaired, and properly used. The pre-industrial peasant who has never known gasoline engines may acquire a tractor and learn to

drive it, but unless he has also a supply of generalized comprehension of such matters as the effects of overheating, the necessity of lubrication, the function of spark plugs, he will not long till his fields by machinery.

Deficiency of technical ability contributes to the fact that in 1961 the unemployment rate is highest among the unskilled and uneducated workers. Many of these workers, at their present levels of ability, are not qualified for the new jobs created by technical advance. Simple retraining for more skilled tasks will not suffice, for recent studies have revealed a lack of general aptitude in the majority of those with long-term unemployment. Many are in fact on the edge of illiteracy, and their deficiencies are in important part matters of basic schooling.

Ogburn's conception of the three factors determining the rate of invention, proposed a third of a century ago in his notable book *Social Change*, still appears to be sound. These factors are (a) a supply of inventive ability, (b) a demand for inventions, and (c) the existing body of knowledge, which he called the cultural base. Ogburn argued that the influence of the first two is less crucial to the rate of inventive progress than that of the third, holding that large populations generally have an adequate supply of individuals of high potential mental ability and that the need factor fails at crucial times, as in the case of the Black Death, and makes no contribution at all to ingenious but unneeded devices, such as hula hoops.

The most significant element in Ogburn's theory is the statement of the way in which the accumulated store of knowledge, the cultural base, becomes almost self-nourishing. When all of the elements needed for a flying machine were present, the steps of making the final working combination were so small and so obvious that they were taken independently by more than one inventor. We know, therefore, that had the Wright brothers died in childhood we would still have had airplanes, and at about the same time.

Our hero-admiring habits have beguiled us into overlooking the significance of the thousands of contributors to the development of every complex machine in favor of the person who made the small step in the middle of the stage that marked the transition from a merely promising device to a

functioning but unperfected machine. The jet monster we ride in today is a product of the combined thought of great numbers of uncelebrated innovators, many probably equal in mental capability to the Wright brothers. The point applies also to more commonplace products—a nylon garment, for example, is based on a long series of chemical discoveries, and on an unmeasured amount of anonymous ingenuity involved in the design of the machines that extrude filaments and stretch them into fibers, dye and spin the threads, and fabricate them into serviceable garments. The important brain power responsible for all this is not a possession of a few giants, but is a funded mental wealth which is a characteristic of any civilized population, but is lacking in varying degrees in less developed societies.

The above argument suggests a concept of *collective ability*, denoting the supply and organization within a society of all the relevant abilities which give the society its creativeness and power. This *collective ability* is not only a matter of technical knowledge, but also of general comprehension of social wisdom, as well as of popular aspiration toward excellence in a variety of fields of mental activity. A high level of collective ability produces not only science and machinery, but also efficient organizational behavior; this in turn allows effective complex governmental, economic, and social organization.³ Responsibility for research in this superorganic form of creative potential must of course be accepted by the science of sociology.

The relative security and power of advanced nations thus lie not in buried gold but mainly in the accumulated capital of collective ability. The statement also applies to the great world society, and to subdivisions within nations. Thus our best defense against discouragement in our flooding tide of troubles would be an acceleration in the development of our collective mental

power. This, of course, does not automatically produce a stable Utopia; new problems will erupt forever. To handle them we will need ever further exponential growth of collective ability.

Not long ago the prospect of such a growth seemed hopeless, for ability was generally held to be fixed in biological inheritance, and improvable, if at all, only by a glacially slow and impractical eugenics program. The present argument, however, is that, in a literal sense, and to an important degree, a society generates its level of ability, and further, that the upper limit is unknown and distant, and best of all, that the processes of generation of ability are potentially subject to intentional control.

The foregoing statement is not a new thought. It was familiar to some prominent Nineteenth Century European scholars. But a half-century or so ago a miniature Dark Age descended over the field of human psychology and the doctrines of the mental testers convinced an impressed public with a secular variant of an infant damnation doctrine.

A single illustration is here offered to symbolize the whole movement. The able and distinguished psychologist, Carl E. Seashore, spent much of his research career investigating musical ability, which he analyzed into a few measured elements. Among the most basic of these, he believed, was the ability to discriminate accurately small differences in musical pitch. He held as follows:⁴

[Pitch discrimination is] an immediate impression . . . dependent upon the presence or absence in various degrees of the sensitive mechanism in the inner ear. . . . A good test in the hands of an expert may properly establish the physiological limit of pitch discrimination. . . . The physiological limit for hearing pitch does not improve with training. . . . What a blessing to a girl of the age of eight if the music teacher would examine her, and, if necessary say, "much as I regret it, I must say that you would find music dull and difficult, and I would advise you to take up some other art."

This is, of course, to say that either the ability was there or not, and if not, nothing could be done about it. This view was and

³ Recent studies show that there is a high relation between level of education and tendency to join voluntary associations. See, for example, Charles R. Wright and Herbert H. Hyman, "Voluntary Association Memberships of American Adults: Evidence from National Sample Surveys," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (June, 1958), pp. 284-294.

⁴ Ruth F. Wyatt, "Improvability of Pitch Discrimination," *Psychological Monographs*, 58 (1945), *passim*.

still is widely held by educators and the public.

Seashore's conviction was strengthened by the fact that he had made unsuccessful efforts to train persons to improve pitch discrimination. The trouble turned out to be that he apparently did not know how to apply such training—possibly his heart was not in the task. Eventually, however, training did succeed in reversing Seashore's results and the concept of that particular type of fixed innate ability was flatly overthrown.⁵

The same delayed revolution has been, and is now, going on in the field of abilities in general. We no longer heed the doctrinaire testers who pronounce specific individual limits for potentialities in mechanical ability, language ability, artistic ability, and mathematical ability. Their ceilings have all been discovered to be penetrable. Slow readers are being retrained. The linguistic near-imbecility of college students is treated by new teaching methods and motivational stimulation. Barriers in many fields of knowledge are falling before the new optimism, which holds that anybody can learn anything.⁶

In sum, we have turned away from the concept of human ability as something fixed in the physiological structure, to that of a flexible and versatile mechanism subject to great improvement. Upper physiological limits of performance may eventually be shown to exist, but it seems certain that these are seldom if ever reached in any person, and in most of the population the levels of performance actually reached have virtually no relation to innate capacities.⁷

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53. Wyatt used a stroboscope which permitted subjects to see which of two sounds had the higher pitch. The subjects were trained in twelve 50-minute sessions, and all improved. The group as a whole gained more than a third of the maximum possible.

⁶ See Jerome S. Bruner, *The Process of Education*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961. Bruner holds that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development."

⁷ If it appears illogical to claim that physiological differences exist, but do not produce differences in performance, consider the rates of speed of automobiles on crowded metropolitan streets. The vehicles differ in horsepower, and in observed speeds, but the speeds may depend entirely on factors other than horsepower—openness of the way ahead, urgency of the trip, nerves of the driver, and dis-

Thus the amount of ability in each person is created in the course of experience, and the supply of ability in any society is at present a consequence mainly of impersonal social processes rather than of intentional control.⁸

Any society tends automatically to reproduce its level of achieved ability among its members. The most obvious factor in this continuity is the richness of the social heritage. As we learn in our first course in sociology, a preliterate society can have a culture only as complex as can be carried in the minds of the living generation. With the acquisition of writing this limit is removed, and civilization of unlimited complexity is made possible. The fund of knowledge stored in print and accessible to the population is a major component of the framework of collective ability.

Another variable of obvious importance is the breadth of distribution of advanced knowledge within a population. It makes a difference whether the advanced knowledge is possessed only by a small minority or distributed widely in a population by formal education. Institutionalized schooling, viewed variously as having the purposes of child-tending, job-qualifying, and mate-finding, is above all a potent instrument for raising the ability level of the population. This is done at the lower grades by transmitting important basic aspects of the general heritage, and in the higher levels by developing versatile capacity to face novel problems. Graduate schools in the various fields of science concentrate on this latter capacity by training students for independent and original research, and, to the extent that they succeed in their principal function, constantly and exponentially add to the supply of the most generative type of human ability in the population.

position of back-seat passengers. On a road race, of course, the factor of horsepower could become the principal determiner of speed.

⁸ In the case of mental calculators, and perhaps some other prodigious performers, the processes are unsystematic and accidental. A number of calculating prodigies developed their ability as a consequence of circumstances that required frequent counting, and an abundance of solitude. See R. E. L. Faris, "Sociological Causes of Genius," *American Sociological Review*, 5 (October, 1940), pp. 689-699.

Aware as we all are of the educational boom in the United States, we may still overlook its spectacular implications for the future. What is happening at the present time is that the nation is quietly lifting itself by its bootstraps to an importantly higher level of general ability—an achievement which, though less dramatic than a space voyage to the moon and less measurable than the Gross National Product, may mean more to the national future than either.

A few statistical items may help us to assess the extent and possible consequences of the contemporary educational surge. It was only forty years ago, according to the U. S. Census, that less than 27 per cent of the age group 25–35 completed a high school education or more. The percentage reached 58 in 1950, over 70 in 1960, and is expected to exceed 78 by 1970. College enrollment is of course rising to a similar flood level. A little over 30 years ago the undergraduate enrollment of the United States population ages 18 to 21 was 21 per cent. In 1961, it is over 30 per cent. If intentions could be accepted as reliable for forecasting they would indicate a 1970 percentage at least twice as large.⁹

Graduate school enrollments in the same period have increased from about 200,000 to 330,000, and the prediction for 1970 is 560,000—thus approaching the tripling of the most important source of advanced research ability in only twenty years. Most of this is a net gain in educational achievement, for the majority of the fathers of contemporary graduate students, 62 per cent, never even attended college, and only 13 per cent of the fathers ever had any graduate study. No comparable quantitative expansion in formal education has occurred in all history. Any qualitative improvements, of course, add further to the effects of these trends.

The consequences of such an educational prosperity to the pace of basic research and, therefore, our ability to meet new perils are incalculably great. Our present accomplishments in science arise from the activities of a relatively limited number of trained per-

sons. An estimate by the National Science Foundation indicates that academic research manpower today is not large for a nation of 180 million. In 1953 the full-time equivalent number of faculty members engaged in research was only 16,500. Incidentally, of these only 1,700 were in psychology and the social sciences, which may help to explain why our nation has more success in handling technical problems than human affairs.

It has been estimated that the United States Ph.D. output in all fields of knowledge will nearly double in the decade 1960–70. Any such increase, if maintained, will automatically continue to add to the ability level of the population as the highly trained generation advances through the age levels and replaces the older and less-educated people—thus the force of the present increase alone may not be fully experienced until forty years have passed. Allowing for various uncertainties in all the above statistics, all signs point to a half century of immensely fruitful development in the national supply of formally educated people.

Formal education, for all its importance, is not the only producer of talent in the population. We have abundant reason to recognize the importance of other contributing influences which are less conspicuous and controlled.

Among the most effective of these is the informal influence of the family on the intelligence of children. We have long recognized a relation between abilities of father and son, but here again too much credit has traditionally been given to heredity. Sociologists have had reason to become aware of the fact that mind itself arises in a social process, and this knowledge should suggest a search for intellectual differences resulting from varying qualities of influence from parent to child.

There is now a large and growing body of convincing research which indicates that a factor of central importance in this family transmission of ability is size of vocabulary. Children normally acquire their speech initially within the family, and in harmonious families the degree of richness in parental language becomes a major determiner of the quality and quantity of the child's vocabulary during his growing years. We know that intelligence tests and school success are heavily influenced by verbal facility, and it

⁹ In April, 1961 a national sample of parents of children of precollege age was asked by the American Institute of Public Opinion if they thought their children would go to college. Seventy-one per cent of parents replied yes, and only 16 per cent no.

must follow that the size and precision of the vocabulary used by parents before their children would be a major factor in achieved and measured intelligence.

Size of parental vocabulary is not the whole story, however, and we may be sure that research directed toward subtle influences within the family will yield applicable knowledge. Among the promising objects of such study we may list: the degree of richness and warmth of relation between parents and children, variations in clarity and orderliness of communication, amount of encouragement of the child to take initiative in talking and relating experience, the development of early familiarity and ease with handling quantities and measurements, acquisition of advanced motivation for reading and school learning, the creation of a broad appetite for orientation to the world and a hunger for knowledge of all kinds, a delight in novel thoughts, and the development of a sense of confidence that answers to questions are not hard to find.¹⁰ We may also look within family processes to find how it comes about that some children gain a self concept of a person who expects to be able to do whatever he decides to undertake.

Another research lead of promise is in the field of sources and effects of aspiration. We have much reason to believe that aspiration is a controlling variable of importance within family, peer groups, communities, and other social groupings, and that these groups may affect intelligence upward or downward through supplying or limiting aspiration among its members.

Among the well-known institutionalized obstructions to learning is the informal complex of attitudes long embedded in the special culture of school children. This attitude complex may be the major explanation of

the notorious inefficiency of the instructional process in the schools. Experiments of many kinds have abundantly shown that children can learn far more efficiently, and can handle much more complex materials, than they actually do in the schools. There is a minor scandal and mystery in the fact that a child can spend three years in school study of a foreign language and know little of it, while the same child placed in a school abroad may acquire speaking ability within a few months.

A part of the explanation of the disappointing product of the schools thus must lie in the existence among school children of an informal culture, that constitutes a destructive influence on aspiration for learning. In general, our schools are burdened by an ancient pupil tradition which defines lessons and study as unpleasant and also as unimportant to the life the children see about them. Probably most children acquire this concept in the first or second grade and never lose it completely even through the college years.

In general, the assurances of teachers that mathematics, languages, history, and science will be of interest and importance in the student's future life is successfully opposed by the child's experience in athletics, activities, and social intercourse. Coleman has recently described the operation of informal prestige systems in a group of public high schools, and has shown how these systems direct energy and aspiration away from scholarship.¹¹ In each of the schools studied the students who were accepted as members of the "leading crowd" held attitudes involving less emphasis on scholarship than those held by the consensus of all students, and in most schools the leaders differed from the other students in the direction of even greater emphasis on athletics. In each school, athletics appeared to be more influential than scholarship—that is, most students stated that they would generally prefer to be remembered as athletic stars than as brilliant scholars. Of course all this has long been known, and since the days of Woodrow Wilson at Princeton has been a matter of much concern to educators. Our formal educational

¹⁰ The present discussion obviously concerns not only the type of intelligence measured by IQ, but whatever mental capacities have value for human purposes. Current research, for example, succeeds in drawing a distinction between a high IQ and a certain type of creativity which would appear to be related to inventiveness. See Jacob W. Getzels and Philip W. Jackson, "Family Environment and Cognitive Style: A Study of the Sources of Highly Intelligent and of Highly Creative Adolescents," *American Sociological Review*, 26 (June, 1961), pp. 351-359.

¹¹ James S. Coleman, "The Adolescent Subculture and Academic Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 55 (January, 1960), pp. 337-347.

system, powerful as it is, operates against a heavy braking effect from an informally organized aspect of juvenile society.

The above is only one among various ways in which our society and culture inhibit abilities. Research has shown that one of the most direct of these influences operates through the control of aspiration by the primary groups of school-age children and youth. Abundant evidence supports the principle that primary groups tend to form on the basis of homogeneity in almost every respect observed—age, sex, socio-economic status, activity interests, and intellectual qualities. Furthermore, once established, these primary groups exert pressure on their members to maintain their similarities. This force operates to hold the achievement and aspiration level toward the approved mode for the group.¹²

Such a pull toward mediocrity is of course not limited to school children—it occurs at all ages at which primary groups are spontaneously formed. A potentially superior member comes to realize that he faces the choice between concealing his intellectual interests or finding himself losing his position in the group.¹³

Social life opposes superiority in still another way, through a constant social pressure to communicate intelligibly. Original individual thought develops most readily in privacy, and can be inhibited by a felt need to make sense to others at all times. A rich social life in primary groups allows

little opportunity for such mental privacy, and includes an atmosphere of disapproval of the person who at any time expresses a thought difficult for his friends to grasp. This atmosphere may involve implications of conceit and even a touch of mental abnormality.

There is a parallel, though not identical, process which allows for social influences in broader categories of society to limit aspirations. The large family and neighborhood community has been shown to influence attitudes and expectations toward education and mental development. Occupational status of fathers is statistically related to vocational ambitions of sons.¹⁴ Even sons who aspire to a level above that of their fathers usually tend to limit their goals to a moderate ascent above the achievements of their fathers.

At the top limit of performance for some persons there seems to be an additional aspiration barrier, as if a demon were establishing a line beyond which performance could not possibly go. Few persons can summon their maximum effort against what they conceive to be an absolute impossibility, but their powers may be released if they are shown, by the example of achievement by a person they view to be comparable, that the thing can be done. Such an *aspiration boundary* probably accounts for the long delay of track athletes in performing a four-minute mile run. For years great runners had come close but failed to beat the clock across the magic line. Extrapolations from world records over shorter and longer distances indicated that comparable running ability should make the feat possible, but there were athletes and sports experts who questioned that it would ever be done. In 1954, however, Roger Bannister achieved it, breaking not only the record but also the aspiration boundary for many talented athletes. By the end of 1960 the four-minute mile had been performed 66 times.

It appears probable that a similar aspiration boundary effect operates with reference to mental achievements, and that many persons of high ability have to wait for New-

¹² See Matilda W. Riley and S. H. Flowerman, "Group Relations as a Variable in Communications Research," *American Sociological Review*, 16 (April, 1951), pp. 174-180. The authors find that membership in school children's peer groups implies mediocrity "... since basically all peer oriented youths aspire to be like each other, on a level which the majority can reach."

¹³ Some choose the second course and accept loneliness and unpopularity as an unavoidable price for the satisfactions of mental achievement. A fortunate few may find comrades of their own level and have the best of both mental adventure and group life, but for the extremely superior this is seldom possible. Norbert Wiener, for example, during his "square peg" period at Harvard, "... tried at one time to unite the five of us (all prodigies) into a sort of prodigy club, but the attempt was ridiculous. ..." Norbert Wiener, *Ex-Prodigy*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953, p. 139.

¹⁴ See Seymour M. Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959. Chapter IX, "Intelligence and Motivation" (pp. 227-259) reviews the evidence on this point.

tons and Einsteins to show that the looming redoubts are not invulnerable. Persons of lower ability, of course, cannot so readily be inspired by the genius at the top, but the same effect may occur at their level. In the days when all great American writers appeared to be in New England, General Lew Wallace inspired a sequence of worthy Indiana writers by his production of *Ben Hur*. It would seem that we sociologists could learn much, and profitably apply the knowledge, from the study of the effect of successful achievements on lifting the aspiration boundaries of the colleagues of the achiever.

The foregoing discussion is meant only as a sample of some of the ways in which the society, and its subgroups, may regulate in a variety of inconspicuous ways the general level of aspiration and performance among its members. It appears that immense potentialities of human abilities are being smothered by systematic social influences which tend to hold achievement toward the medial level of a group or a community. Only a few escape from such influences—the rest aim and achieve at a level near that of their closest social groups.

The central implication of the present argument is that attractive potentialities of increase in collective ability are possible if we advance our knowledge of the sociological influences that stimulate and limit aspiration and achievement, and find strategic points at which we may establish some control over them. No great difficulties appear to stand in the way. It appears that we only need to apply a massive research effort in the field of the relation of social factors to abilities. Fortunately there exists today a nation-wide enthusiasm for the development of talent resources; a milling crowd is stirring into action even in advance of academic sociological leadership.

Public support of facilities for formal education has never been more enthusiastic, and money for paying teachers has never been easier to find. There is more support than ever before for stimulating a higher proportion of students to pursue advanced education. Trials abound of new approaches to teaching methods, some with spectacular implications of the unused powers in our children. Of these, two merit special mention here. At Stanford University, Patrick Suppes

has recently been conducting an experiment with first grade children, in which the approach to arithmetic is made through set theory, which the children appear to grasp easily. At Yale, Omar K. Moore has successfully arranged to have an experimental group of thirty-five pre-school children learn reading, writing, printing, and typing. One of his subjects at the age of 2 years and 11 months has been filmed in the act of reading a first-grade story.

Also significant, if less bold, are such new developments as the ferment of Honors Plans in the colleges, the increase in the supply of fellowships to draw the best students into advanced study, the development of methods of testing and identifying potentially superior students, and various plans for enrichment and acceleration of instruction.

All of this school effort is to the good, and vigorous support of it will surely produce rewards. Even greater benefit, however, may in time result from the discovery and application of knowledge in the influence of other aspects of social life on ability. The schools, however improved, will not perform the tasks which belong to the family and the community. It is not enough to know how to offer a subject, say a foreign language, by the most advanced instructional methods if the subject is meaningless to the student. We have not yet faced the question of what the significance of academic study of the Spanish language is to the daughter of a Minneapolis dentist who plans to marry a farm-implement salesman of Norwegian descent. Nor have we learned to bring students to college with an effective appetite for the types of knowledge most useful to themselves and the nation. At present business training, home economics, and physical education outnumber mathematics, physics, sociology, and philosophy in the expressed academic intentions of high school students.

In the present opera on the nature and destiny of man's genius, we have heard only the opening bars of the overture, but the music suggests that the production will some day be a success, and that the amount of effort we put into it will make a difference in the time required. Biology and genetics, while not entirely irrelevant to the cause, promised more than they could deliver in

the early years of the century. Individual psychology has taught much, but now we perceive evidence that an important part of the relevant causation of abilities is essentially sociological in nature, and that control is most likely to come through penetration of this aspect of the subject. Research in the sociology of collective ability thus promises to give us an unmatched opportunity to apply advanced techniques of discovery to a matter of critical human importance.

Men of wealth, position, and responsibility wishing to provide security for their children, find that there is actually no way of having absolute assurance that a fortune can survive. Currency can fluctuate in value and deteriorate through war and inflation. Gold

and diamonds have arbitrary worth which can vanish with economic disorganization. Land can be taxed away or confiscated by agrarian reformers. No kind of material wealth is more secure than the social organization which stands back of it. The most favorable chance of survival, therefore, eventually goes to persons of highest general ability and wisdom who can deal with problems of complexity in a time of change. Effective intelligence, then, is a richer legacy than acres of diamonds, not only to the heirs of a tycoon, but also to the posterity of a nation. To learn how to expand the heritage of collective intelligence would create the best legacy we could leave to the children of our children.

FUNCTION AND CAUSE

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The paper first examines the relations between functional and causal analysis, and concludes that a statement about the function of an institution can be made relevant to a causal analysis of the development of that same institution only (legitimately) by additional assumptions concerning human motives or evolutionary selection or (illegitimately) by use of the postulate of necessary integration. Secondly, it argues that only events can properly be related by causal laws and that questions about the functions of institutions (considered as constructs from observed events) logically imply questions about the causal effects of the events from which they are constructed. It finally seeks to classify approaches to sociological analysis with respect to these two theses and to indicate those differences which stem from different methodological assumptions and those which reflect different value preferences.

KINGSLEY DAVIS has argued that we should abandon the notion that functionalism is a special form of sociological analysis.¹ It is sociological analysis, albeit occasionally clouded by misleading terminology. In at least one reader the effect of his thoughtful and wide-ranging paper was to stimulate reflection on our notions of function and cause and on the relations between them. The starting point of these reflections was the question: Does not Professor Davis' argument rest on a special and hardly universal view of what sociological analysis is or should be?

¹ Kingsley Davis, "The Myth of Functional Analysis as a Special Method in Sociology and Anthropology," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 752-772.

At one point he commends functionalism as having "helped to make a place in sociology and anthropology for those wishing to explain social phenomena in terms of social systems, as against those who wished to make no explanation at all, to explain things in terms of some other system or to plead a cause." Sociological analysis, in other words, is the explanation of social phenomena in terms of social systems. But surely cause-pleading, explanation in terms of other systems and so on are not the only alternatives. There is another position, equally sociological, equally analytical, which holds that sociologists should search for regularities in the concomitant occurrences of social phenomena, seek to induce causal laws from such regularities and seek eventually to

order such laws into comprehensive theory. According to this view, systematic theory (a logically consistent body of causal laws) is the end product of a long search for causal relations, not a heuristically useful starting point.

This, perhaps, betrays a preference for "neat single propositions whose validity is proved but whose significance is not," a preference which Professor Davis condemns as "scientific ritualism." It is comforting to reflect that in the natural sciences at least we would not have got far without our ritualists. Newton in developing his systematic theory of mechanics owed a good deal to Galileo's neat single proposition about the rate of acceleration of falling bodies.

The difference between these two views which we might characterize as the system approach and the piecemeal approach is not identical with the often imputed distinction between functional and non-functional analysis, but it does seem to be true that only the system approach encourages the use of the concept of function. The piecemeal approach is quite clearly bent on looking for causal relations. The system approach finds the concept of cause and causal law difficult to apply, and often finds functions easier to handle.

Perhaps the best way to justify this assertion would be to analyse closely the relations between the concepts of function and of cause. Let us take as starting point the question: In what ways can a statement about the function of an institution, a pattern of behavior, a role, or a norm be translated into a statement about causal relations?

FUNCTION—EFFECT

In the first place it is fairly obvious that "the function of X is to maintain Y" implies that X has some kind of causal influence on Y, and it is presumably this kind of "translation" Professor Davis had in mind when he denied that functional relations are non-causal. But an analysis of "causal influence" leads to difficulties. Can we say: "The assertion that, say, the system of stratification has the function of making the division of labor possible implies that among the causes of the division of labor is the system of stratification?" Obviously not if "the causes

of the *origin* of the division of labor" is intended. We have to say something like "the causes of the persistence of the division of labor." This suggests that while one can legitimately ask the function of an institution, one cannot ask for the *cause* of an institution; one has to specify cause of origin or cause of persistence. It will be argued later that what this really amounts to is that one can legitimately ask only for the causes of *events*. Let us assume this argument for the moment and formulate this particular relation between function and cause as follows: "Institution X has the function of maintaining institution Y" implies that the recurring events referred to as institution X are among the causes of other events integral to the institution Y (or, can be related by causal laws to other events integral to institution Y).

FUNCTION—CAUSE

But this is not the kind of causal relationship implied when it is said that an institution is "explained" in terms of its function. Here (less often explicitly than implicitly as a result of the ambiguities of the word "explain") the transition is suggested not from function of X to the causes of something other than X, but from the function of X to the causes of X itself. When and how may this kind of transition be made?

A small boy's examination of the interior of a watch may lead him to conclude that the function of the balance spring is to control the movement of the balance wheel. He would have little difficulty in using his functional insight to arrive at a causal explanation of the spring's presence—it is there because the man who made the watch realized a need for something to control the movement of the wheel, and the process of ratiocination which ensued led him to put in the spring.

Sociologists are not always precluded from making the same kind of transition from function of X to cause of X. Human institutions are now purposefully designed on a scale rarely attempted before. An analysis of the functions of the Chinese communes leads easily to an explanation of the causes of their existence, for they were created by historically identifiable persons to perform

these functions and there may well be minutes of committees which record the process of invention with constant reference to their intended consequences, both those which were to be manifest to the communed Chinese and those which were to be latent to them and manifest only to their leaders.

Perhaps more common is the case where human purpose, based on an awareness of function, is a causal factor not so much in the initiation of an institution as in its growth and development. The Roman circus started well before emperors realized the salutary political functions it shared with bread. It was not until the third century B.C. that, as Radcliffe-Brown has pointed out,² the Chinese sociologist, Hsun-Tse, realized the latent psychological and social functions of ancestral rites, but his discovery certainly prompted later Confucian scholars to encourage the deluded masses in a continued belief in the reality of the manifest functions of those rites. Nowadays, with sociologists busily ferreting out latent functions in every nook and cranny of society and their writings gaining general currency, latent functions are not likely to stay latent for long. Here indeed is the complement of the self-fulfilling prophecy—the self-falsifying assertion. The sociologist who contends that X has such and such a latent function in his own society in fact makes that function manifest. The intervention of human purpose to preserve institutions so that they may continue to fulfill their *once* latent functions is likely to occur more frequently as a result.³

However, modern sociologists still probably have less direct influence in moulding

the institutions of their society than Hsun-Tse had in his, and in any case most sociologists are not imputing such a causal chain when they imply a connection between latent function of X and cause of X. Merton, for instance, clearly is thinking of something else when he speaks, apropos of the Hopi rain dances, of the analysis of their latent function as an *alternative* to describing their persistence “only as an instance of ‘inertia,’ ‘survival’ or ‘manipulation by powerful sub-groups’.”⁴

How then, without reference to human awareness of functions, can a statement about the function of an institution be translated into a causal statement about either the origin or the persistence of that institution?

SOCIETAL INTEGRATION

One way is to postulate an immanent tendency, universal in human societies, for the parts of the society all to be functionally integrated in the whole. Given such a tendency the function of an institution is its *raison d'être* and hence its cause. The logical grounds for such a postulate seem to be two. First there is the complementarity of roles and institutions; the role of wife implies the role of husband; the specialization of the executive to executive functions implies separate institutions for legislation and litigation, and so on. Such complementarities, however, are of limited range. Let an integrationist try his hand, for instance, at specifying the chains of complementarity which might link the institution of Presidential elections with that of the burlesque show. The second basis for belief in the integration of societies rests on the supposed integration of the human personality. Since the same individual occupies numerous roles in a variety of institutional contexts and since all individuals are subject to a craving for consistency, it follows that all the institutions of a society must be permeated by the same value preferences, the same modes of orientation to action, the same patterns of authority, the same world-view, the same sense of time, and so on. But how valid is the assumption of

² A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, *Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, London: Cohen and West, 1952, pp. 157–159.

³ This raises moral as well as analytical problems when the institutions concerned involve factual beliefs. At the turn of the century John Morley's liberal conscience was somewhat exercised by “the question of a dual doctrine . . . the question whether it is expedient that the more enlightened classes in a community should . . . not only possess their light in silence, but whether they should openly encourage a doctrine for the less enlightened classes which they do not believe to be true for themselves while they regard it as indispensably useful in the case of less fortunate people.” *On Compromise*, London: Macmillan, 1908, p. 44.

⁴ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, Revised Edition, 1957, p. 65.

the consistent personality? Which of us, sophisticates that we are, could confidently claim that he has never been guilty of preferring value A to value B in one situation and reversing his preference in another? And even if this were not so, this argument would create an a priori expectation of social integration only in the case of very simple societies. In such simple societies the number of roles is limited. Every individual in the society may occupy at some stage of his life a high proportion of the total number of roles. In such a society integrated personalities might make for integrated institutions. But this is not the case in large complex societies, segmented into regional and class sub-cultures with specialized personality types and offering a vast multiplication of roles only a tiny fraction of which any one individual will ever find himself performing.

Obviously there are no grounds for expecting such societies to be perfectly integrated. To quote Professor Davis again, "It would be silly to regard such a proposition as literally true." And one might add that modification of the proposition from "always perfectly" to "usually somewhat" integrated (a) destroys the possibility of its empirical falsification and (b) destroys its value as an automatic means of transition from function to cause.⁵

EVOLUTIONARY SELECTION

There remains, however, at least one way in which the sociologist may move on from function to cause—by means of the notions of adaptation and selection developed in the theories of biological evolution. To take the

⁵ A less ambitious and more precise integrationist thesis such as, for instance, "the kinship structure and the occupational structure will always be integrated to the degree that the kinship structure does not impose obstacles to such free movement of individuals as the occupational structure requires" still does not allow for automatic transition from function to cause. (Would it be: the family is the way it is because of the occupational structure, or vice versa?) Such a thesis can, however, by specifying areas where causal relations are likely to be found, direct one's thinking towards such empirically testable hypotheses as those implicit in Parson's discussion of the family. (See for example, *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, p. 178.) Such for instance as "when industrialization proceeds the importance of the conjugal relation in the kinship structure increases."

example of stratification and the division of labor, the hypothesis would have to go something like this: for various reasons some societies which began the division of labor also had, or developed, a system of unequal privileges for different groups, others did not. Those which did functioned more efficiently as societies; perhaps they bred more rapidly than, acquired resources at the expense of, and eventually eliminated, the others. Perhaps (and this is an extension of the concept of selection not available to the biologist) their obvious superiority in wealth, power, the arts, standard of living, etc., induced the others to imitate their institutions wholesale, including the principle of stratification; or just conceivably (though here we slip "human awareness" back into the causal chain) the others bred sociologists who noted the importance of stratification to the superior societies and urged its adoption specifically. At any rate, by one, or a combination, of these processes it now happens that all societies with a division of labor have a system of stratification.

It is an unlikely story, but it seems to be the only kind of story which will make a statement about the latent function of X relevant to a causal explanation of X. And even this, of course, is not a complete causal explanation. The "various reasons" why some societies had stratification in the first place still need to be explained. For the biologist the place of these "various reasons" is taken by "random mutation" and some sociologists, too, are prepared to probe no further.⁶

But often the sociologist can think of specific "various reasons" which eliminate randomness. Dennis H. Wrong, in his assessment of Davis and Moore on stratification,⁷ suggests, for instance, that when the division

⁶ Ruth Benedict, for instance, remarks that "the course of life and the pressure of the environment, not to speak of the fertility of the human imagination, provide an incredible number of possible leads, all of which, it appears, may serve a society to live by" and, the implication is, it is more or less beyond precise determination why they should utilize one lead rather than another. (Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1949, p. 16.)

⁷ Dennis H. Wrong, "The Functional Theory of Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), p. 774.

of labor takes place certain groups acquire greater power in the society by virtue of that division and consequently arrogate to themselves a larger share of material and other rewards. And in this case, if this hypothesis concerning one of the "various reasons" for the development of stratification in a society is historically validated, or accepted on the basis of what we know in general of human nature, then it could equally explain the development of stratification in any and all societies. The adaptive superiority of stratification due to its function in making the division of labor workable may still be relevant, too, but it is only one of a number of possible causal chains, the relative importance of which can only be assessed in the light of the historical evidence.

In any case, if one is looking for the causes of (either the origination or the continuance of) X, it is better to look for causes as such; looking for the functions of X is never a necessary, and not always even a useful, first step.⁸

In point of fact we know from historical evidence that this evolutionary argument relating function to cause is irrelevant to certain social institutions which sociologists describe. The American boss-directed political machine, for instance, is said by Merton to have the functions of providing a centralization of power, of providing necessary services to those who need help rather than justice, of organizing essential, but morally disapproved, sectors of the economy etc., and as such contributes to the maintenance of the social system as a whole. However, we know that the boss-system developed long since the United States was in direct

and aggressive competition with other social groups for resources; we know from historical evidence that there has been no process of selective weeding out of societies involved.

In such cases one can still appeal to a weakened form of the evolutionary argument to relate function to cause by defining causally important conditions not for the original development of the institution but for its later transmission. It would have to go something like this: if the boss system had not had these effects and so contributed to the smooth working of society, nor had these effects been neutral with respect to the smooth working of society, but had, on the contrary been positively detrimental to society's smooth working, people would have stopped doing it. In other words the fact that this feature was *not dysfunctional* to the workings of the society is a necessary condition of its present existence. It is also a necessary condition that all members of the society were not eliminated by an epidemic of bubonic plague. One could think of many more such negatively defined necessary conditions, all of which play a part, but only a small part, in a full causal explanation.

SUMMARY

This seems to exhaust the possible methods by which assertions about the functions of X can be involved in assertions about the causes of the (origin or continuance of) X. The sociologist may not be the least bit interested in any of them. Having discovered that, say, social stratification has the function of making the division of labor workable, he may be content with saying just that—and with perfect justification provided he concedes that he has said nothing about *why* societies are stratified. He may go on to point a corollary of his assertion—that if stratification were abolished the division of labor would become unworkable. This is, indeed, an eminently useful social activity and the kind of analysis which can properly precede attempts at social reform. It is also, incidentally, the kind of activity in which a good many social anthropologists in particular have been professionally engaged in colonial administrations. The practical need to assess the probable effects of changes in institutions wrought by colonial policy has

⁸ Cf., for instance, George C. Homans and David M. Schneider, *Marriage, Authority and Final Causes*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955. In suggesting one "efficient cause" for the development of patrilineal cross-cousin marriage in societies of certain types, namely that such a form of marriage best conforms to the personal interests of the members of such societies, they conclude, apropos of Levy-Strauss' functional, or "final cause," explanation (that such an institution makes for a "better," because more organically integrated, society) "not . . . that [it] is right or that it is wrong, but only that it is now unnecessary." (p. 59). Levy-Strauss' functional explanation did not lead them to their own causal explanation in any sense except that it prompted them to challenge his assumption that it was all there was to be said on the subject.

provided an important application of functional analysis which perhaps explains (causally) who so many anthropologists have been content with functional analysis as a legitimate final goal of their activities.

We may sum up the argument so far as follows:

1. In a not very clearly defined way the suggestion that institution X has the function of maintaining Y implies some causal influence of X on Y.

2. Assertions about the functions of an institution X are relevant to assertions about the causes of the origin or the persistence of that same institution X if, and only if: (a) one assumes that the function is manifest to the present actors in, to the present upholders of, or to former upholders or inventors of the institution in question, and as such has played a part in their motives for performing, or inducing others to perform, the institutionalized behavior involved; (b) one postulates an immanent tendency for the functional integration of a society; (c) one postulates an adaptive superiority conferred by the institution which permitted it, having developed in one society, to spread to others.

These ideas are not particularly new.⁹ The reason why they need reiterating is, it seems, largely because of the ill-defined relation between function and cause suggested by the first of our two propositions. It is the main business of this paper to try to improve the definition of that relation and, in the course of doing so, to make a few pertinent remarks about the use of analogies from natural science.

SYSTEM AND EVENT

Let us first examine the concept of system. "How else can data be interpreted," said Professor Davis in his paper, "except in relation to the larger structures in which

⁹ The clear differentiation of causes and consequences, for instance, and the assertion that one may argue from consequence to cause only via (a) motive or (b) evolutionary theory is to be found in Harry C. Bredemeier, "The Methodology of Functionalism," *American Sociological Review*, 20 (April, 1955), p. 173. He somewhat obscures his first point, however, with the discussion, in the latter part of his paper, of the precise ways in which motives also have to be considered even for a discussion of consequences.

they are implicated? How can data on the earth's orbit, for example, be understood except in relation to a system in which they are involved—in this case the solar system or the earth's climatic system?" Is this, however, a good analogy? There are indeed systems in nature, such as the solar system, the parts of which are in continuous interaction with each other in such a way that causal laws, expressed in the form of differential equations, allow one to predict one state of the system from another prior or later state. In human societies, however, though the money market might be somewhat similar, such systems are rare. Social systems (in the Parsonian manner) are not analogous in that the parts are not *simultaneously* affecting each other in the way in which the sun and the moon simultaneously affect each other by their gravitational attraction. The mutual relation of, say, the system of socialization to the system of political control is mediated by the personality structure, and as such it is a relation which requires a long time interval to work through the whole causal sequence. Parents may well train their children today in ways which are "significantly congruent" with the ways in which they behave politically today, but, in the other direction, the way in which they now behave politically is affected by the way in which they were trained, not today but a generation ago.

The analysis of systems such as the solar system can dispense with the notion of cause in favor of function—but this, be it noted, is strictly the mathematician's function, not that of the sociologist or of the physiologist.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Bertrand Russell, *Mysticism and Logic*, London: Penguin Books, 1953, p. 184. It would be interesting to know whether Russell's well-known assertion in this paper that the concept of cause was useful "only in the infancy of a science" and that as a science developed it was replaced by function (mathematical) had any influence in causing sociologists and anthropologists to drop the unfashionable word cause and take up function instead. If so they were the rather naive victims of the ambiguity of the word function, rather like the lady who heard that bearskins were replacing mink this year and though somewhat puzzled decided that fashion was fashion and went to the party naked. One might add that Russell's assertion that the concept of cause is useful only in the infancy of a science is not incompatible with the claim that "cause" is still useful for sociology.

It is not, however, impossible to apply the concepts of causal law and causal event to such systems, and to do so might help to elucidate the nature of the distinction we have earlier made between the causes of the origin of, and the causes of the persistence of, institutions. If we are to give a causal explanation of the movement of the moon between 10:00 P.M. and 10:05 P.M. tonight, we would need to refer to the simultaneous events of the movements of the earth and the sun, etc., relating them to it by Newton's law of gravitation. We should also have to mention a previous event—the moon's motion at the point immediately prior to 10:00 P.M.—and relate it to the event in question (its movement between 10:00 and 10:05 P.M.) by means of Newton's first law of motion concerning momentum. Having started on this track we can regress almost indefinitely from event to event back through time (chopping our time continuum arbitrarily into "events"), the moon's velocity at any particular moment being affected by its velocity the preceding moment, until we get to an earlier traumatic event, namely the moon's supposed wrenching off from the earth. In the whole of this process it is only events which we relate to each other by causal laws and only of events that we ask: what are their causes?¹¹ Similarly—and this is the point of the example—when we talk of "the cause of the origin of an institution" and "the cause of the persistence of an institution" we are in both cases asking for the causes of events—in the first case the causes of the particular once-and-for-all events as-

sociated with the origin of the institution, and in the second of the recurring events which *are* the institution.

In the light of this view of causal relations, let us now look at the analogy between physiology and sociology often invoked by those who favor sociological explanation in terms of systems. It is often asserted that because the physiologist leaves questions concerning the origin of the heart to the student of evolution and concentrates on tracing its functions as it at present exists, he is not concerned with causes. But this is surely not so. "The function of the heart in the human being is to pump blood" implies "The cause of the flow of this blood at this time is the pump of that heart then" and this is as much a causal assertion as "one of the reasons why animals have hearts is because when random mutation produced the first primitive heart its possessors gained the ability to out-breed the heartless."

Physiologists and students of evolution have achieved a division of labor which is not formalized among sociologists. Consequently, among sociologists the search for an "explanation" of an institution is often ambiguous. "Why is there a system of unequal rewards in this society?" may be answered by some "because parents tell (this parent and this parent told) their children that some positions in society are more worthy of respect than others, and because employers pay (this employer and this employer paid) more for some kinds of work than others, etc." This is the "physiological" explanation of the recurring events of rewarding particular people with particular acts of deference and so on which is what we mean by stratification. Alternatively the answer might be "because with the division of labor some groups became more powerful and arrogated privileges to themselves, or because differentiated societies which had systems of stratification proved more successful than those which didn't,"—the "evolutionary" explanation of the particular events which led to the institutionalization of certain patterns of behavior.

INSTITUTIONS

It will be noted again that whichever way the question is taken it can be handled as if

¹¹ On close analysis it becomes extremely difficult, as Bertrand Russell shows, to define the concept of "event." (*Mysticism and Logic*, London: Penguin Books, 1953, pp. 176-178; *The Analysis of Matter*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1927, pp. 94-95.) The difficulties are, however, not such as to prevent Russell himself from ignoring them in his later work (see, for example, *Human Knowledge*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1948, p. 344), and the common sense notion of "event" or "happening," widened slightly perhaps to include not only "the eclipse of the moon" but also "the movement of the moon between 10:00 and 10:01 P.M." (i.e., not only common-sensically discrete events, but also arbitrarily chopped-up units of continuous processes—a legitimate extension since all "events," even eclipses, have arbitrarily defined boundaries.) is adequate for the purposes of this discussion and, for the moment at least, for the purposes of sociological enquiry.

it were a question about particular events. It is the chief assertion of this paper that ultimately these are the only terms in which causal questions can be framed. But if this is the case, what then is the relation between the particular events observed by the sociologist and his concepts such as stratification, marriage, or socialization—concepts of “institutions,” “norms,” “behavior patterns?” Is it not exactly the same as the relation between a particular human heart and *the* human heart for the physiologist? The physiologist’s statement that “the function of the heart is to pump blood” is a summary generalization of statements about the causal relations between the particular events of heart-pump and blood-flow in particular human bodies—events which nowadays recur more than two billion times a second. If the sociologist’s statements are to have any empirical reference it is difficult to see how they can be different from this; how, that is to say, the relation between “John kisses Mary” and “courtship,” or between “farmer George touched his cap to the lord of the manor” and “stratification” can be other than the relation between “the pump of this heart” and “the pump of the human heart.”

Even sociologists who accept this are often tempted to forget it, partly because while any single heart-pump is very much like another, kisses can vary greatly in intensity, passion, and significance. This is also the reason why it is more important that the sociologist should *not* forget it; it matters very little to the physiologist if he forgets that his abstract human organ is a generalization from particular organs in particular people *because* they are all very much alike.

If it be accepted that the sociologist’s “institutions” are summary generic terms for classes of particular recurring events, then it follows that his statements about the functional interrelations of institutions are generalizations about the causal relations between these recurring events. In other words that “the system of stratification functions to make the division of labor workable” is a generalized summation of a number of lower order generalizations to the effect that, for instance, “men submit to a lengthy medical training because they have the prospect of greater rewards” etc., which are themselves generalizations from statements of

particular events (“Jack submitted . . . because he had . . .”).

We might emphasize this assertion that statements about the functional relations between institutions are *only* generalizations about relations between particular events by means of a mathematical analogy (offered only, it might be added, as a didactic illustration and not as a proof). If it is granted that events like “John (unmarried) passionately kisses Mary (unmarried)” (a) are summarily referred to by such a term as “romantic courtship” (Σa); and events like “John (married) hits Mary (married)” (b) are summarily referred to by such a term as “pattern of marital maladjustment” (Σb), then the statement “patterns of courtship affect patterns of marital adjustment” is a summary of statements of the nature “the way John kissed Mary then affects the way he hits her now,” and as such is a statement of the nature Σab , *not* of the nature $\Sigma a \times \Sigma b$.

SOCIAL FACTS AND REDUCTIONISM

Some sociologists would part company at this point. They might agree with the above view of the logical nature of constructs like “institution,” “behavior pattern” etc., but still hold that there *is* a $\Sigma a \times \Sigma b$ kind of sense in which institutions can be related over and above the relations of the particular events they describe. It is difficult to see how this can be so. More consistent is the position of those who would hold that concepts like institutions are not, or are not only, generalizations about recurring events. Such arguments might well appeal to the Durkheimian characterization of norms and institutions as “social facts.” But the position outlined above is in no way incompatible with one interpretation of the Durkheimian view. It is undoubtedly true that the members of a society do have reified concepts of, say, “marriage,” “romantic love,” “filial conduct” which are both more than and less than generalizations concerning particular relations between particular people. But these reified concepts are part of the *data* of sociology. Having a concept of marriage is (though normally less easily observed) as much an event in society as having a quarrel with one’s wife and susceptible of the same kinds of questions and explanations. There

is no more reason for the sociologist to adopt for his thinking *about* society the terms used for thinking *in* society (to take, in other words, his analytical tools straight out of his data) than there is for a carpenter to use nothing but wooden saws.

The point might be made clearer if it is stated in the terms of Maurice Mandelbaum's discussion of "societal facts."¹² His argument that societal facts are not reducible to statements concerning the actions of individuals rests on an identification of what one might call "societal (or cultural) concepts" with "sociologists' concepts." One can agree with his formulation—that there is a language S, in which concepts like marriage, the banking system, the Presidency, etc., appear; that there is another language P in which we refer to the thoughts and actions of individuals; and that sentences in S cannot be translated wholly into P because some of the thoughts and actions of individuals consist of *using* S. But the contention here is that the sociologist should be speaking in a different language—meta-SP if one likes—which certainly resembles S and was developed from S but is an artificial creation for the purpose of analyzing causal relations in society and can only be effective for this purpose if it *is* reducible to P (including all the necessary concepts of S—the words spoken and the thoughts thought by individuals—which P must incorporate). Another way of putting it would be to say that Mandelbaum's arguments that societal facts are not reducible to facts about individuals are really arguments to show that *language* is a necessary part of the sociologist's data for which there can be no substitute. And no one would wish to quarrel with that.¹³

The position outlined above is part of the

¹² Maurice Mandelbaum, "Societal Facts," *British Journal of Sociology*, 6 (December, 1955), pp. 305-316.

¹³ In Parsonian terms the contention here could be put in the form that the analytical categories of the social system are not identical with those of the cultural system. This is indeed what Parsons says (see *The Social System*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951, p. 15) but in actual practice—in, for instance, his analysis of medical practice in the same book—his method seems to be to take the definition of the role from the cultural system and "fill it out" with examples of concrete action.

thesis of "methodological individualism,"¹⁴ the brief debate about which seems to have died down without much interest being shown by professional sociologists. The methodological individualist doctrine which holds that all sociological laws are bound to be such as can ultimately be reduced to laws of individual behavior is a hard one to refute,¹⁵ but one which few sociologists find

¹⁴ The thesis is outlined in two articles by J. W. N. Watkins, "Ideal Types and Historical Explanation," *British Journal for the Philosophy of Science*, 3 (May, 1952), pp. 22-43, and "The Principle of Methodological Individualism," *ibid.*, 3 (August, 1952), pp. 186-189.

¹⁵ The two main attacks on Watkins articles have been those of Leon J. Goldstein ("The Inadequacy of the Principle of Methodological Individualism," *The Journal of Philosophy*, 53 (December, 1956), pp. 801-813) and E. A. Gellner ("Explanations in History" in *Dreams and Self-Knowledge*, Aristotelian Society Supplementary Volume XXX, 1956, pp. 157-176). Goldstein's objection is chiefly that the individualist position "would leave us with theories the entire content of which were the facts that suggested them in the first place, having no further power of prediction or generalization" and rests on such dubious arguments as that "to know that in such and such a society descent is reckoned in the female line or that residence is avuncular provides no information about the aspirations and activities of particular persons." Gellner objects on several grounds; he uses the Durkheimian "social fact" argument, but eventually admits its irrelevance on approximately the same grounds as are indicated above; he argues also that in practice there may well be a Principle of Indeterminacy that makes it impossible to observe the precise individual causal sequences which account for events which can be generalized about in macroscopic statistical terms (trends in road accidents etc.), but his main point is that a statement in individualist terms *adds* nothing to a statement in holistic terms. There is, he suggests, only neatness and intelligibility to be lost and nothing to be gained in translating "the committee made this decision" into statements about the processes that went on in the minds of the individual committee members. But the individualist thesis is not one about descriptive statements, but about laws. It holds that if we knew enough such a "law" as "committees composed of equal proportions of members of low and high status in societies where a stress is placed on harmonious unanimity will tend to reach unanimous decisions reflecting the wishes of those of higher status" is reducible to a number of "laws" about individuals, the way in which they are disposed to react when faced with individuals of higher and of similar status, when faced with the demand for an expression of opinion, etc. The *advantage* of these atomistic laws over the holistic one is that they have greater explanatory power; each is applicable to a wider range of situations than just

attractive. The reason is perhaps this: the examples we have given of the particular causal relations actually implied by statements of the functions of institutions were of the type: "Jack became a doctor because of the prospect of . . ." "The way John kissed Mary then affects the way he hits her now." All imputations of a causal relation imply a causal law. In these cases the relevant laws are laws of individual behavior—"an individual of such and such training in such and such circumstances will orient present actions to remotely deferred gratifications," "behavioral dispositions towards individual others built up under the stress of strong biological urges tend to be modified after the satiation of those urges" might be examples. These can be stated in purely behavioral terms. Nevertheless when they are so stated the possibility of further reduction to laws of psychological processes becomes apparent. Psychological reductionism has never appealed to sociologists; it has usually been conceived as a threat to the integrity and importance of sociology. It is difficult to see why. It would be as absurd to argue that because all the laws of social behavior might ultimately be reducible to psychological terms sociologists should give up sociology and take to psychology, as to hold that chemists should all abandon chemistry since their laws might ultimately be reduced to laws of physics. The antipathy towards the reductionist thesis exists, however, and sociologists have for a long time been intermittently fighting a losing battle to prove (to themselves, it seems, since no one else seems to have been particularly interested) that there are irreducible sociological laws *sui generis*. Is not the resort to "function" in part a continuation of this warfare by more diplomatic means?

Professor Davis noted that in their studies of social change functionalists behave no differently from other sociologists who claim to be opposed to functionalism. Now, studies of social change are explicitly looking for causes—for the causes of the particular

events associated with the origination and changing of institutions. To keep one's nose equally on the scent for causes in the analysis of stable systems, however, involves constant reference to the recurring events which make up the institutional units under study and poses the problem of the kind of reductionism outlined above. The concept of function offers an escape; it blurs the precise causal relations imputed and yet descriptions in terms of functions seem somehow to be causal; it makes it easier for institutions to be treated as ultimate units without constant reference to the empirical content of such concepts;¹⁸ in this way the sociological integrity of sociology is preserved and grand theory concerning social systems becomes possible.

VARIOUS SOCIOLOGIES

What, then, of functionalism? It is, as Kingsley Davis points out, a name for a variety of methodological and philosophical (following Davis, following Radcliffe-Brown, though "moral" might be more apposite) positions. It might be useful to elucidate these positions with reference to the two main theses of this paper. These theses are: (1) There is a difference between questions about the functions of an institution and questions about the cause(s) of (the particular once-and-for-all events leading to the origin of, or the recurring events which make up) that institution, and answers to the first kind of question are relevant to answers to the second kind of question only (legitimately) via human motives or evolutionary selection, or (illegitimately) by use of the postulate of necessary integration. (2) Questions about the functions of an institution logically imply questions about the effects of recurring particular events

¹⁸ See, for example, Talcott Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 456. The universalism of the doctor's role is spoken of as having the function of protecting the doctor from involvement in particularistic personal relations with his patients. This sounds like a causal relation but would seem on closer inspection to be a matter of logic: "a doctor treats his patients all alike" logically implies that he does not treat them as individuals. If the universalism of the doctor's role were something more than his treating his patients all alike there would be more than this to Parson's analysis; but it does not seem that this is the case.

committees, much as the theory of ionization has greater explanatory power than a "law" dealing with the electrolysis of water, which states that electrodes placed in water give off hydrogen and oxygen and applies only to the specific case of water.

which make up that institution as causes of other recurring particular events.

Functionalists, then, could be any of four types of sociologists. Type (a) sociologists easily accept both of these propositions but find the concept of function useful because they are chiefly concerned with the way in which changes in one institution in a particular society would affect other institutions, for example, the social reformer or the colonial anthropologist. Type (b) sociologists accept both of these propositions but hold the philosophical view that sociologists should concern themselves only with the kind of causal relationships which have a direct bearing on the equilibrium of the social system (i.e., are [eu]functional or dysfunctional) and not with other causal chains which, being in this special sense "non-functional," are "pragmatically unimportant";¹⁷

It is this particular philosophical view with its implication that "stability is all," together with the fact that functionalists of type (a) have usually tended in practice to give reasons for pessimism about the possible scope of social reform, which provide the basis for the charge of functionalist conservatism. Type (c) sociologists are mainly concerned to construct models of social systems and either deny the second of these propositions or occasionally ignore its implications in order to reduce the difficulties of their task. Type (d) sociologists would deny the first of these propositions (usually, specifically the charge that the postulate of necessary integration is illegitimate¹⁸) and, in giving a description of the functions of an institution, would imply that this is also, automatically, a causal explanation of that institution.

A number of alternative positions are possible if these two propositions are accepted. There is the piecemeal approach, outlined at the beginning of this paper, which suggests that sociologists should concern themselves with searching for regularities in the concomitant occurrence of social events with a view to inducing causal laws which might

ultimately be ordered in some systematic theory. There is the historical approach which is largely concerned with discovering the causes of the particular once-and-for-all events which explain the origins of institutions. There is the static approach which concentrates on societies which have been stable over long periods of time and seeks for the causal relations between the recurring events which make up their institutions. There is still possible scope for the model-system approach in so far as it seeks to build up a pattern of causal relations such as might pertain to an ideal and entirely stable society, without having recourse to the short cut of functionalists variety (c). There is, finally, the 'issue' approach, the virtues of which have recently been argued with much vehemence by C. Wright Mills. This involves starting from practical questions which actually worry people, such as "who is likely to plunge us into a world war," and using for the purpose of elucidation questions about the causes of recurring institutionalized events—so that by knowing why people do things we shall be in a better position to know how to stop them; questions about the once-and-for-all causes—so that by knowing how things got the way they are we shall be in a better position to judge whether that is the way they ought to be; and questions about functions of institutions—so that we would have a better idea of what we would be up against if we tried to change them. All kinds of questions are asked not as ends in themselves but as means to eliciting guides for judgment and action. This is not, perhaps, a scientific pursuit in the way that the other approaches outlined above are scientific, though it is one that has intermittently occupied a great many sociologists of repute.

The differences between these various positions are in part methodological—differences concerning the truth of the two propositions enunciated earlier. In part they are moral differences, about the proper scale of priorities which should guide the sociologist's use of his time. About the methodological issues there is legitimate ground for dispute. But about the "oughts" implied in these various positions, we can only preach at each other. It would be sad if we stopped preaching, but let us try to keep our sermons and our methodological discussions separate.

¹⁷ R. K. Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁸ This is the position from which Hempel has recently attempted to analyze the logic of functional analysis. Carl G. Hempel "The Logic of Functional Analysis" in Llewellyn Gross, editor, *Symposium on Sociological Theory*, Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson, 1959, pp. 271-303.

THE ANALYSIS OF GOALS IN COMPLEX ORGANIZATIONS *

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An understanding of organizational behavior requires close examination of the goals of the organization reflected in operating policies. To reach a first approximation of operative goals, a scheme is proposed which links technology and growth stages to major task areas—capital, legitimization, skills, and coordination—which predict to power structure and thence to limits and range of operative goals. The major illustration of the utility of the scheme is provided by voluntary general hospitals; other voluntary and non-voluntary service organizations are discussed, in these terms, as well as profit-making organizations.

SOCIAL scientists have produced a rich body of knowledge about many aspects of large-scale organizations, yet there are comparatively few studies of the goals of these organizations. For a full understanding of organizations and the behavior of their personnel, analysis of organizational goals would seem to be critical. Two things have impeded such analysis. Studies of morale, turnover, informal organization, communication, supervisory practices, etc., have been guided by an over-rationalistic point of view wherein goals are taken for granted, and the most effective ordering of resources and personnel is seen as the only problematical issue. Fostering this view is the lack of an adequate distinction between types of goals. Without such clarification it is difficult to determine what the goals are and what would be acceptable evidence for the existence of a particular goal and for a change in goals.

It will be argued here, first, that the type of goals most relevant to understanding organizational behavior are not the official goals, but those that are embedded in major operating policies and the daily decisions of the personnel. Second, these goals will be shaped by the particular problems or tasks an organization must emphasize, since these tasks determine the characteristics of those who will dominate the organization. In illustrating the latter argument, we will not be concerned with the specific goals of or-

ganizations, but only with the range within which goals are likely to vary. Though general hospitals will be used as the main illustration, three types of organizations will be discussed: voluntary service organizations, non-voluntary service organizations and profit-making organizations.

THE OVER-RATIONALISTIC VIEW

Most studies of the internal operation of complex organizations, if they mention goals at all, have taken official statements of goals at face value. This may be justified if only a limited problem is being investigated, but even then it contributes to the view that goals are not problematical. In this view, goals have no effect upon activities other than in the grossest terms; or it can be taken for granted that the only problem is to adjust means to given and stable ends. This reflects a distinctive "model" of organizational behavior, which Gouldner has characterized as the rational model.¹ Its proponents see the managerial elite as using rational and logical means to pursue clear and discrete ends set forth in official statements of goals, while the worker is seen as governed by nonrationalistic, traditionalistic orientations. If goals are unambiguous and achievement evaluated by cost-accounting procedures, the only turmoil of organizational life lies below the surface with workers or, at best, with middle management maneuvering for status and power. Actually, however, nonrational orientations exist at all

* Some of this material was presented in a paper titled, "A Reassessment of Authority and Goals in Voluntary General Hospitals," at the Fifty-fifth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Association (1960). I should like to thank the following for their perceptive criticisms: Morris Janowitz, Eliot Freidson, and Hanan Selvin.

¹ Alvin Gouldner, "Organizational Analysis," in Robert Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, p. 407.

levels, including the elite who are responsible for setting goals² and assessing the degree to which they are achieved.

One reason for treating goals as static fixtures of organizational life is that goals have not been given adequate conceptualization, though the elements of this are in easy reach. If making a profit or serving customers is to be taken as a sufficient statement of goals, then all means to this end might appear to be based on rational decisions because the analyst is not alerted to the countless policy decisions involved. If goals are given a more elaborate conceptualization, we are forced to see many more things as problematic.

OFFICIAL AND OPERATIVE GOALS

Two major categories of goals will be discussed here, official and "operative" goals.³ Official goals are the general purposes of the organization as put forth in the charter, annual reports, public statements by key executives and other authoritative pronouncements. For example, the goal of an employment agency may be to place job seekers in contact with firms seeking work-

ers. The official goal of a hospital may be to promote the health of the community through curing the ill, and sometimes through preventing illness, teaching, and conducting research. Similar organizations may emphasize different publically acceptable goals. A business corporation, for example, may state that its goal is to make a profit or adequate return on investment, or provide a customer service, or produce goods.

This level of analysis is inadequate in itself for a full understanding of organizational behavior. Official goals are purposely vague and general and do not indicate two major factors which influence organizational behavior: the host of decisions that must be made among alternative ways of achieving official goals and the priority of multiple goals, and the many unofficial goals pursued by groups within the organization. The concept of "operative goals"⁴ will be used to cover these aspects. Operative goals designate the ends sought through the actual operating policies of the organization; they tell us what the organization actually is trying to do, regardless of what the official goals say are the aims.

Where operative goals provide the specific content of official goals they reflect choices among competing values. They may be justified on the basis of an official goal, even though they may subvert another official goal. In one sense they are means to official goals, but since the latter are vague or of high abstraction, the "means" become ends in themselves when the organization is the object of analysis. For example, where profit-making is the announced goal, operative goals will specify whether quality or quantity is to be emphasized, whether profits are to be short run and risky or long run and stable, and will indicate the relative priority of diverse and somewhat conflicting ends of customer service, employee morale, competitive pricing, diversification, or liquidity. Decisions on all these factors influence the nature of the organization, and distinguish

² A strong argument for considering changes in goals is made by James D. Thompson and William J. McEwen, "Organizational Goals and Environment: Goal-Setting as an Interaction Process," *American Sociological Review*, 23 (February, 1958), pp. 23-31.

³ A third may be distinguished: social system goals, which refers to those contributions an organization makes to the functioning of a social system in which it is nested. In Parson's terminology, organizations may serve adaptive, gratificatory, integrative, or pattern-maintenance functions. See Talcott Parsons, "Sociological Approach to the Theory of Organizations," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 1 (June-September, 1956), pp. 63-86, 225-240. This alone, however, will tell us little about individual organizations, although Scott, in a suggestive article applying this scheme to prisons and mental hospitals, implies that organizations serving integrative functions for society will place particular importance upon integrative functions within the organization. See Frances G. Scott, "Action Theory and Research in Social Organization," *American Journal of Sociology*, 64 (January, 1959), pp. 386-395. Parsons asserts that each of the four functions mentioned above also must be performed within organizations if they are to survive. It is possible to see a parallel between these four functions and the four tasks discussed below, but his are, it is felt, too general and ambiguous to provide tools for analysis.

⁴ The concept of "operational goals" or "sub-goals" put forth by March and Simon bears a resemblance to this but does not include certain complexities which we will discuss, nor is it defined systematically. See J. G. March and H. A. Simon, *Organizations*, New York: Wiley, 1958, pp. 156-157.

it from another with an identical official goal. An employment agency must decide whom to serve, what characteristics they favor among clients, and whether a high turnover of clients or a long run relationship is desired. In the voluntary general hospital, where the official goals are patient care, teaching, and research, the relative priority of these must be decided, as well as which group in the community is to be given priority in service, and are these services to emphasize, say, technical excellence or warmth and "hand-holding."

Unofficial operative goals, on the other hand, are tied more directly to group interests and while they may support, be irrelevant to, or subvert official goals, they bear no necessary connection with them. An interest in a major supplier may dictate the policies of a corporation executive. The prestige that attaches to utilizing elaborate high speed computers may dictate the reorganization of inventory and accounting departments. Racial prejudice may influence the selection procedures of an employment agency. The personal ambition of a hospital administrator may lead to community alliances and activities which bind the organization without enhancing its goal achievement. On the other hand, while the use of interns and residents as "cheap labor" may subvert the official goal of medical education, it may substantially further the official goal of providing a high quality of patient care.

The discernment of operative goals is, of course, difficult and subject to error. The researcher may have to determine from analysis of a series of apparently minor decisions regarding the lack of competitive bidding and quality control that an unofficial goal of a group of key executives is to maximize their individual investments in a major supplier. This unofficial goal may affect profits, quality, market position, and morale of key skill groups. The executive of a correctional institution may argue that the goal of the organization is treatment, and only the lack of resources creates an apparent emphasis upon custody or deprivation. The researcher may find, however, that decisions in many areas establish the priority of custody or punishment as a goal. For example, few efforts may be made to obtain more treatment personnel; those hired are misused

and mistrusted; and clients are viewed as responding only to deprivations. The president of a junior college may deny the function of the institution is to deal with the latent terminal student, but careful analysis such as Clark has made of operating policies, personnel practices, recruitment procedures, organizational alliances and personal characteristics of elites will demonstrate this to be the operative goal.⁵

THE TASK—AUTHORITY—GOAL SEQUENCE

While operative goals will only be established through intensive analysis of decisions, personnel practices, alliance and elite characteristics in each organization, it is possible to indicate the range within which they will vary and the occasion for general shifts in goals. We will argue that if we know something about the major tasks of an organization and the characteristics of its controlling elite, we can predict its goals in general terms. The theory presented and illustrated in the rest of this paper is a first approximation and very general, but it may guide and stimulate research on this problem.

Every organization must accomplish four tasks: (1) secure inputs in the form of capital sufficient to establish itself, operate, and expand as the need arises; (2) secure acceptance in the form of basic legitimization of activity; (3) marshal the necessary skills; and (4) coordinate the activities of its members, and the relations of the organization with other organizations and with clients or consumers. All four are not likely to be equally important at any point in time. Each of these task areas provides a presumptive basis for control or domination by the group equipped to meet the problems involved. (The use of the terms control or dominance signifies a more pervasive, thorough and all-embracing phenomenon than authority or power.) The operative goals will be shaped by the dominant group, reflecting the imperatives of the particular task area that is most critical, their own background characteristics (distinctive perspectives based upon their training, career lines, and areas of competence) and the unofficial uses to which

⁵ Burton Clark, *The Open Door College*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

they put the organization for their own ends.

The relative emphasis upon one or another of the four tasks will vary with the nature of the work the organization does and the technology appropriate to it,⁶ and with the stage of development within the organization.⁷ An organization engaged in manufacturing in an industry where skills are routinized and the market position secure, may emphasize coordination, giving control to the experienced administrator. An extractive industry, with a low skill level in its basic tasks and a simple product, will probably emphasize the importance of capital tied up in land, specialized and expensive machinery, and transportation facilities. The chairman of the board of directors or a group within the board will probably dominate such an organization. An organization engaged in research and development, or the production of goods or services which cannot be carried out in a routinized fashion, will probably be most concerned with skills. Thus engineers or other relevant professionals will dominate. It is also possible that all three groups—trustees, representatives of critical skills, and administrators—may share power equally. This "multiple leadership" will be discussed in detail later. Of course, trustees are likely to dominate in the early history of any organization, particularly those requiring elaborate capital and facilities, or unusual legitimization. But once these requisites are secured, the nature of the tasks will determine whether trustees or others dominate. The transfer of authority, especially from trustees to another group, may be protracted, constituting a lag in adaptation.

Where major task areas do not change over time, the utility of the scheme presented here is limited to suggesting possible relations between task areas, authority structure, and operative goals. The more interesting

problems, which we deal with in our illustrations below, involve organizations which experience changes in major task areas over time. If the technology or type of work changes, or if new requirements for capital or legitimization arise, control will shift from one group to another. One sequence is believed to be typical.

VOLUNTARY GENERAL HOSPITALS

We will discuss four types of hospitals, those dominated by trustees, by the medical staff (an organized group of those doctors who bring in private patients plus the few doctors who receive salaries or commissions from the hospital), by the administration, and by some form of multiple leadership. There has been a general development among hospitals from trustee domination, based on capital and legitimization, to domination by the medical staff, based upon the increasing importance of their technical skills, and, at present, a tendency towards administrative dominance based on internal and external coordination. (The administrator may or may not be a doctor himself.) Not all hospitals go through these stages, or go through them in this sequence. Each type of authority structure shapes, or sets limits to, the type of operative goals that are likely to prevail, though there will be much variation within each type.⁸

Trustee Domination. Voluntary general hospitals depend upon community funds for an important part of their capital and operating budget. Lacking precise indicators of efficiency or goal achievement, yet using donated funds, they must involve community representatives—trustees—in their authority structure. Trustees legitimate the non-profit status of the organization, assure that funds are not misused, and see that community

⁶ For an illuminating discussion of organizations which emphasizes technological differences, see James D. Thompson and Frederick L. Bates, "Technology, Organizations, and Administration," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 2 (December, 1957), pp. 325-343.

⁷ Many other factors are also important, such as the legal framework, official and unofficial regulatory bodies, state of the industry, etc. These will not be considered here. In general, their influences are felt through the task areas, and thus are reflected here.

⁸ The following discussion is based upon the author's study of one hospital which, in fact, passed through these stages; upon examination of published and unpublished studies of hospitals; and upon numerous conversations with administrators, doctors, and trustees in the United States. Sophisticated practitioners in the hospital field recognize and describe these types in their own fashion. See Charles Perrow, "Authority, Goals and Prestige in a General Hospital," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1960, for fuller documentation and discussion.

needs are being met. Officially, they are the ultimate authority in voluntary hospitals. They do not necessarily exercise the legal powers they have, but where they do, there is no question that they are in control.

The functional basis for this control is primarily financial. They have access to those who make donations, are expected to contribute heavily themselves, and control the machinery and sanctions for fund raising drives. Financial control allows them to withhold resources from recalcitrant groups in the organization, medical or non-medical. They also, of course, control all appointments and promotions, medical and non-medical.

Where these extensive powers are exercised, operative goals are likely to reflect the role of trustees as community representatives and contributors to community health. Because of their responsibility to the sponsoring community, trustees may favor conservative financial policies, opposing large financial outlays for equipment, research, and education so necessary for high medical standards.⁹ High standards also require more delegation of authority to the medical staff than trustee domination can easily allow.¹⁰ As representatives drawn from distinctive social groups in the community, they may be oriented towards service for a religious, ethnic, economic, or age group in the community. Such an orientation may conflict with selection procedures favored by the medical staff or administration. Trustees may also promote policies which demonstrate a contribution to community welfare on the part of an elite group, perhaps seeking to maintain a position of prominence and power within the community. The hospital may be used as a vehicle for furthering a social philosophy of philanthropy and good works; social class values regarding personal worth, economic independence and responsibility; the assim-

ilation of a minority group;¹¹ or even to further resistance to government control and socialized medicine.

Such orientations will shape operative goals in many respects, affecting standards and techniques of care, priority of services, access to care, relations with other organizations, and directions and rate of development. The administrator in such a hospital—usually called a “superintendent” under the circumstances—will have little power, prestige or responsibility. For example, trustees have been known to question the brand of grape juice the dietician orders, or insist that they approve the color of paint the administrator selects for a room.¹² Physicians may disapprove of patient selection criteria, chafe under financial restrictions which limit the resources they have to work with, and resent active control over appointments and promotions in the medical staff.

Medical Domination. Trustee domination was probably most common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Medical technology made extraordinary advances in the twentieth century, and doctors possessed the skills capable of utilizing the advances. They demanded new resources and were potentially in a position to control their allocation and use. Increasingly, major decisions had to be based upon a technical competence trustees did not possess. Trustees had a continuing basis for control because of the costs of new equipment and personnel, but in many hospitals the skill factor became decisive. Some trustees felt that the technology required increased control by doctors; others lost a struggle for power with the medical staff; in some cases trustees were forced to bring in and give power to an outstanding doctor in order to increase the reputation of the hospital.¹³ Under such conditions trustees are likely to find that their legal power becomes nominal and they can only intervene in crisis situations; even financial requirements come to be set by conditions outside

⁹ Exceptions to conservative financial policies appear to occur most frequently in crisis situations where accreditation is threatened or sound business principles are violated by run down facilities, or inefficient management. See Temple Burling, Edith M. Lentz, and Robert N. Wilson, *The Give and Take in Hospitals*, New York: G. P. Putnam, 1956, Chapters 4, 5, 6.

¹⁰ Burling *et al.*, (*ibid.*, p. 43), note that active trustees find delegation difficult.

¹¹ Perrow, *op. cit.*, chapter 5.

¹² Edith Lentz, “Changing Concepts of Hospital Administration,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Research*, 3 (Summer, 1957), p. 2. Perrow, *op. cit.*, p. 86.

¹³ Berthram Bernheim, *The Story of Johns Hopkins*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948, pp. 142-148.

their control.¹⁴ They continue to provide the mantle of community representation and non-profit status, and become "staff" members whose major task is to secure funds.

It is sometimes hard to see why all hospitals are not controlled by the medical staff, in view of the increasing complexity and specialization of the doctor's skills, their common professional background, the power of organized medicine, and the prestige accorded the doctor in society. Furthermore, they are organized for dominance, despite their nominal status as "guests" in the house.¹⁵ The medical staff constitutes a "shadow" organization in hospitals, providing a ready potential for control. It is organized on bureaucratic principles with admission requirements, rewards and sanctions, and a committee structure which often duplicates the key committees of the board of directors and administrative staff. Nor are doctors in an advisory position as are "staff" groups in other organizations. Doctors perform both staff and line functions, and their presumptive right to control rests on both. Doctors also have a basic economic interest in the hospital, since it is essential to most private medical practice and career advancement. They seek extensive facilities, low hospital charges, a high quality of coordinated services, and elaborate time and energy-conserving conveniences.

Thus there is sufficient means for control by doctors, elaborated far beyond the mere provision of essential skills, and sufficient interest in control. Where doctors fully exercise their potential power the administrator functions as a superintendent or, as his co-professionals are wont to put it, as a "housekeeper." The importance of administrative skills is likely to be minimized, the administrative viewpoint on operative goals neglected, and the quality of personnel may suffer. A former nurse often serves as superintendent in this type of hospital. Policy

matters are defined as medical in nature by the doctors,¹⁶ and neither trustees nor administrators, by definition, are qualified to have an equal voice in policy formation.

The operative goals of such a hospital are likely to be defined in strictly medical terms and the organization may achieve high technical standards of care, promote exemplary research, and provide sound training. However, there is a danger that resources will be used primarily for private (paying) patients with little attention to other community needs such as caring for the medically indigent (unless they happen to be good teaching cases), developing preventive medicine, or pioneering new organizational forms of care. Furthermore, high technical standards increasingly require efficient coordination of services and doctors may be unwilling to delegate authority to qualified administrators.

Various unofficial goals may be achieved at the expense of medical ones, or, in some cases, in conjunction with them. There are many cases of personal aggrandizement on the part of departmental chiefs and the chief of staff. The informal referral and consultation system in conjunction with promotions, bed quotas, and "privileges" to operate or treat certain types of cases, affords many occasions for the misuse of power. Interns and residents are particularly vulnerable to exploitation at the expense of teaching goals. Furthermore, as a professional, the doctor has undergone intensive socialization in his training and is called upon to exercise extraordinary judgment and skill with drastic consequences for good or ill. Thus he demands unusual deference and obedience and is invested with "charismatic" authority.¹⁷ He may extend this authority to the entrepreneurial aspects of his role, with the result that his "service" orientation, so taken for granted in much of the literature, sometimes means service to the doctor at the expense of personnel, other patients, or even his own patient.¹⁸

¹⁴ For a detailed analysis of such a shift of power, see Perrow, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-50.

¹⁵ There is a small group of doctors on the medical staff, who may or may not bring in private patients, who receive money from the hospital, either through salary or commissions—pathologists, anesthesiologists, roentgenologists, paid directors of the outpatient department, etc. These are members of the organization in a direct sense.

¹⁶ Oswald Hall, "Some Problems in the Provision of Medical Services," *Canadian Journal of Economics*, 20 (November, 1954), p. 461.

¹⁷ Albert F. Wessen, "The Social Structure of a Modern Hospital," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1951, p. 43.

¹⁸ Wessen notes that the doctor "sees ministering

Administrative Dominance. Administrative dominance is based first on the need for coordinating the increasingly complex, non-routinizable functions hospitals have undertaken. There is an increasing number of personnel that the doctor can no longer direct. The mounting concern of trustees, doctors themselves, patients and pre-payment groups with more efficient and economical operation also gives the administrator more power. A second, related basis for control stems from the fact that health services in general have become increasingly interdependent and specialized. The hospital must cooperate more with other hospitals and community agencies. It must also take on more services itself, and in doing so its contacts with other agencies and professional groups outside the hospital multiply. The administrator is equipped to handle these matters because of his specialized training, often received in a professional school of hospital administration, accumulated experience and available time. These services impinge upon the doctor at many points, providing a further basis for administrative control over doctors, and they lead to commitments in which trustees find they have to acquiesce.

The administrator is also in a position to control matters which affect the doctor's demands for status, deference, and time-saving conveniences. By maintaining close supervision over employees or promoting their own independent basis for competence, and by supporting them in conflicts with doctors, the administrator can, to some degree, overcome the high functional authority that doctors command. In addition, by carefully controlling communication between trustees and key medical staff officials, he can prevent an alliance of these two groups against him.

If administrative dominance is based primarily on the complexity of basic hospital activities, rather than the organization's medical-social role in the community, the operative orientation may be toward financial solvency, careful budget controls, efficiency, and minimal development of services. For example, preventive medicine, research, and training may be minimized; a cautious approach may prevail towards new forms of

care such as intensive therapy units or home care programs. Such orientations could be especially true of hospitals dominated by administrators whose background and training were as bookkeepers, comptrollers, business managers, purchasing agents, and the like. This is probably the most common form of administrative dominance.

However, increasing professionalization of hospital administrators has, on the one hand, equipped them to handle narrower administrative matters easily, and, on the other hand, alerted them to the broader medical-social role of hospitals involving organizational and financial innovations in the forms of care. Even medical standards can come under administrative control. For example, the informal system among doctors of sponsorship, referral, and consultation serves to protect informal work norms, shield members from criticism and exclude non-cooperative members. The administrator is in a position to insist that medical policing be performed by a salaried doctor who stands outside the informal system.

There is, of course, a possibility of less "progressive" consequences. Interference with medical practices in the name of either high standards or treating the "whole" person may be misguided or have latent consequences which impair therapy. Publicity-seeking innovations may be at the expense of more humdrum but crucial services such as the out-patient department, or may alienate doctors or other personnel, or may deflect administrative efforts from essential but unglamorous administrative tasks.¹⁰ Using the organization for career advancement, they may seek to expand and publicize their hospital regardless of community needs and ability to pay. Like trustees they may favor a distinctive and medically irrelevant community relations policy, perhaps with a view towards moving upward in the community power structure. Regardless of these dangers, the number of administration dominated hospitals oriented towards broad medical-social goals will probably grow.

Multiple Leadership. So far we have been considering situations where one group

to the needs of doctors as a major function of the hospitals." (*Ibid.*, p. 328.)

¹⁰ Charles Perrow, "Organizational Prestige: Some Functions and Dysfunctions," *American Journal of Sociology*, 66 (January, 1961), pp. 335-341.

clearly dominates. It is possible, however, for power to be shared by two or three groups to the extent that no one is able to control all or most of the actions of the others. This we call multiple leadership: a division of labor regarding the determination of goals and the power to achieve them.²⁰ This is not the same as fractionated power where several groups have small amounts of power in an unstable situation. With multiple leadership, there are two or three stable, known centers of power. Nor is it the same as decentralized power, where specialized units of the organization have considerable autonomy. In the latter case, units are free to operate as they choose only up to a point, when it becomes quite clear that there is a centralized authority. In multiple leadership there is no single ultimate power.

Multiple leadership is most likely to appear in organizations where there are multiple goals which lack precise criteria of achievement and admit of considerable tolerance with regard to achievement. Multiple goals focus interests, and achievement tolerance provides the necessary leeway for accommodation of interests and vitiation of responsibility. Many service organizations fit these criteria, but so might large, public relations-conscious business or industrial organizations where a variety of goals can be elevated to such importance that power must be shared by the representatives of each.

In one hospital where this was studied²¹ it was found that multiple leadership insured that crucial group interests could be met and protected, and encouraged a high level of creative (though selective) involvement by trustees, doctors, and the administration. However, the problems of goal setting, assessment of achievement, and assignment of

responsibility seemed abnormally high. While the three groups pursued separate and unconflicting operative goals in some cases, and were in agreement on still other goals, in areas where interests conflicted the goal conflicts were submerged in the interests of harmony. In the absence of a single authority, repetitive conflicts threatened to erode morale and waste energies. A showdown and clear solution of a conflict, furthermore, might signal defeat for one party, forcing them to abandon their interests. Thus a premium was placed on the ability of some elites to smooth over conflicts and exercise interpersonal skills. Intentions were sometimes masked and ends achieved through covert manipulation. Assessment of achievement in some areas was prevented either by the submergence of conflict or the preoccupation with segmental interests. Opportunism was encouraged: events in the environment or within the hospital were exploited without attention to the interests of the other groups or the long range development of the hospital. This left the organization open to vagrant pressures and to the operation of unintended consequences. Indeed, with conflict submerged and groups pursuing independent goals, long range planning was difficult.

This summary statement exaggerates the impact of multiple leadership in this hospital and neglects the areas of convergence on goals. Actually, the hospital prospered and led its region in progressive innovations and responsible medical-social policies despite some subversion of the official goals of patient care, teaching, research, and preventive medicine. The organization could tolerate considerable ambiguity of goals and achievements as long as standards remained high in most areas, occupancy was sufficient to operate with a minimum deficit, and a favorable public image was maintained. It remains to be seen if the costs and consequences are similar for other organizations where multiple leadership exists.

APPLICATION TO OTHER ORGANIZATIONS²²

Voluntary Service Organizations. Other voluntary service organizations, such as

²⁰ As in small group analysis, there is an increasing though belated tendency to recognize the possibility that there may be more than one leader in an organization. For a recent discussion of the problem in connection with army groups, see Hanan Selvin, *The Effects of Leadership*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, Chapters 1, 7. Amatai Etzioni goes even further in discussing "professional organizations." For a provocative discussion of goals and authority structure, see his "Authority Structure and Organizational Effectiveness," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 4 (June, 1959), pp. 43-67.

²¹ Perrow, *Authority, Goals and Prestige . . .*, *op. cit.*, chapters 4, 10.

²² The dogmatic tone of this concluding section is, unfortunately, the consequence of an attempt to be brief.

private universities, social service agencies, privately sponsored correctional institutions for juveniles, and fund raising agencies resemble hospitals in many respects. They have trustees representing the community, may have professionals playing prominent roles, and with increasing size and complexity of operation, require skilled coordination of activities. Initially at least, trustees are likely to provide a character defining function which emphasizes community goals and goals filtered through their own social position. Examples are religious schools, or those emphasizing one field of knowledge or training; agencies caring for specialized groups such as ethnic or religious minorities, unwed mothers, and dependent and neglected children; and groups raising money for special causes. Funds of skill and knowledge accumulate around these activities, and the activities increasingly grow in complexity, requiring still more skill on the part of those performing the tasks. As the professional staff expands and professional identification grows, they may challenge the narrower orientations of trustees on the basis of their own special competence and professional ideology and seek to broaden the scope of services and the clientele. They may be supported in this by changing values in the community. Coordination of activities usually rests with professionals promoted from the staff during this second character defining phase, and these administrators retain, for a while at least, their professional identity. Trustees gradually lose the competence to interfere.

However, professionals have interests of their own which shape the organization. They may develop an identity and ethic which cuts them off from the needs of the community and favors specialized, narrow and—to critics—self-serving goals. Current criticisms of the emphasis upon research and over-specialization in graduate training at the expense of the basic task of educating undergraduates is a case in point in the universities.²³ There is also criticism of the tendency of professionals in correctional in-

stitutions to focus upon case work techniques applicable to middle-class "neurotic" delinquents at the expense of techniques for resocializing the so-called "socialized" delinquent from culturally deprived areas.²⁴ The latter account for most of the delinquents, but professional identity and techniques favor methods applicable to the former. Something similar may be found in social agencies. Social workers, especially the "elite" doing therapy in psychiatric and child guidance clinics and private family agencies, may become preoccupied with securing recognition, equitable financial remuneration, and status that would approach that of psychiatrists. Their attitudes may become more conservative; the social order more readily accepted and the deviant adapted to it; "worthy" clients and "interesting cases" receive priority.

It is possible that with increasing complexity and growth in many of these voluntary service organizations, administrators will lose their professional identity or be recruited from outside the organization on the basis of organizational skills. In either case they will be in a position to alter the direction fostered by selective professional interests. Of course, the problem of coordinating both internal and external activities need not generate leadership seeking broadly social rather than narrowly professional goals, any more than it necessarily does in the hospital. Administrative dominance may stunt professional services and neglect social policy in the interest of economy, efficiency, or conservative policies.

Non-Voluntary Service Organizations. A different picture is presented by non-voluntary service organizations—those sponsored by governmental agencies such as county or military hospitals, city or county welfare agencies, juvenile and adult correctional

²³ Earl J. McGrath, *The Graduate School and the Doctrine of Liberal Education*, New York: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1960.

²⁴ Robert Vinter and Morris Janowitz, "Effective Institutions for Juvenile Delinquents: A Research Statement," *Social Service Review*, 33 (June, 1957), pp. 118-122; Donald Cressey, "Changing Criminals: The Application of the Theory of Differential Association," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56 (September, 1955), p. 116; Lloyd Ohlin and W. C. Lawrence, "Social Interaction Among Clients as a Treatment Problem," *Social Work*, 4 (April, 1959), pp. 3-14.

agencies.²⁵ Authority for goal setting, regulation, and provision of capital and operating expenses does not rest with voluntary trustees, but with governmental officials appointed to commissions. In contrast to volunteers on the board of a private service organization, commissioners are not likely to be highly identified with the organization, nor do they derive much social status from it. The organizations themselves often are tolerated only as holding operations or as "necessary evils." Commission dominance is sporadic and brief, associated with public clamor or political expediency. On the other hand, the large size of these organizations and the complex procedures for reporting to the parent body gives considerable importance to the administrative function from the outset, which is enhanced by the tenuous relationship with the commissioners. Consistent with this and reinforcing it is the low level of professionalization found in many of these agencies. The key skills are often non-professional custodial skills or their equivalent in the case of public welfare agencies (and schools). Administrators are often at the mercy of the custodial staff if, indeed, they have not themselves risen to their administrative position because of their ability to maintain order and custody.

Nevertheless, professional influence is mounting in these organizations, and professional groups outside of them have exercised considerable influence.²⁶ Professionals may assume control of the organization, or administrators may be brought in whose commitment is to the positive purposes of the organization, such as rehabilitation of the clients, rather than the negative custodial functions. This appears to have happened in the case of a few federal penal institutions, a few state juvenile correctional institutions, and several Veterans Administration mental hospitals. Even where this happens, one must be alert to the influence of unofficial goals.

The organizations are particularly vulnerable to exploitation by the political career interests of administrators or to irresponsible fads or cure-alls of marginal professionals. In summary, the sequence of tasks, power structure, and goals may be different in non-voluntary service organizations. The importance of administrative skills with system maintenance as the overriding operative goal does not encourage a shift in power structure; but where new technologies are introduced we are alerted to such shifts along with changes in goals.

Profit-Making Organizations. Our analysis may appear less applicable to profit-making organizations for two reasons. First, it could be argued, they are not characterized by multiple goals, but relate all operations to profit-making. Second, skill groups are not likely to dominate these organizations; owners control the smaller firms, and professional executives the larger ones. Thus power structure and possibly goals may merely be a function of size. We will discuss each of these points in turn.

If profit-making is an overriding goal of an organization, many operative decisions must still be made which will shape its character. Even where technology remains constant, organizations will vary with regard to personnel practices, customer services, growth, liquidity, an emphasis upon quality or quantity, or long or short run gains. An adequate understanding of the organization will require attention to alternatives in these and other areas.

Furthermore, it has often been asserted that the importance of profits, *per se*, has declined with the increased power of professional management, especially in large organizations. The argument runs that since management does not have a personal stake in profits, they consider them less important than stability, growth, solvency, and liquidity.²⁷ The impressionistic evidence of those

²⁵ Public schools are excluded here because of the elective status of school boards; however, with some revisions, the following analysis would be applicable.

²⁶ Thompson and McEwen note that the "importance of new objectives may be more readily seen by specialized segments (professionals) than by the general society" and argue that public clamor for change has not been the initiating force. *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

²⁷ Robert A. Gordon was perhaps the first to deal at length with this proposition, and many have subsequently argued along the same lines. See Robert A. Gordon, *Business Leadership in the Large Corporation*, Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1945, pp. 308-312, 322, 327-329, 336, 340. For similar assertions see C. E. Griffin, *Enterprise in a Free Society*, Chicago: Irwin, 1949, pp. 96-104; H. Maurer, *Great Enterprise*, New York:

who assert this is not supported by a study of James Dent.²⁸ When asked, "What are the aims of top management in your company?", the response of executives of 145 business firms showed no greater mention of "to make profits, money or a living" among large than small firms, nor among those with professional managers than owner-managers. Because goals stated in this form may not reflect actual policies and because of other limitations, one is somewhat reluctant to take this as a fair test of the hypothesis.

Even though his sample was not representative, and the question asked does not get at what we have called operative goals, his study provides good evidence of variations of stated goals in profit-making organizations. Responses coded under the category "to make money, profits, or a living" were mentioned as the first aim by 36 per cent of the executives; "to provide a good product; public service" by 21 per cent, and "to grow" was third with 12 per cent. When the first three aims spontaneously mentioned were added together, profits led; employee welfare tied with "good products or public service" for second place. Dent found that the variables most associated with goals were size of company and "proportion of employees who are white-collar, professional or supervisory."²⁹ While goals no doubt are influenced by size, this accounted for only some of the variance. Holding size constant, one might discover the effects of major task areas. The association of goals with the "proportion of employees who are white-collar . . ." supports this argument.

R. A. Gordon and others have asserted that in large corporations it is the executive group, rather than stockholders or the board

of trustees, that generally dominates.³⁰ A study of the role of trustees, frankly in favor of their exercising leadership and control, actually shows through its many case studies that trustees exercise leadership mainly in times of crisis.³¹ The generalization of Gordon, almost a commonplace today, appears to be sound: he asserts that the common pattern of evolution is for active leadership by owners in the early years of the firm, then it is passed on to new generations of the families concerned, and gradually responsibility for decision-making passes to professional executives who frequently have been trained by the original leaders.³² Goals likewise shift from rapid development and a concern with profits to more conservative policies emphasizing coordination, stability and security of employment.³³

But does this mean that for large, old, and stable firms that operative goals are substantially similar, reflecting professional administration? Does it also mean that for profit-making organizations in general there are only two alternative sources of domination, trustees (including owners) and professional administrators? Our theoretical scheme suggests that neither may be true, but the evidence is scanty. Certainly within the organizations dominated by professional managers there is ample opportunity for a variety of operational goals less general than, say, stability and security of employment. Even these are likely to vary and to shape the nature of the firm. (We exclude, of course, the failure to achieve these broad goals because of poor management or en-

³⁰ Gordon, *op. cit.*, pp. 114, 131-132, 145-146, 180, 347.

³¹ M. T. Copeland and A. Towl, *The Board of Directors and Business Management*, Boston: Harvard University, 1947. For a similar conclusion and excellent discussion of these matters see R. H. Dahl, "Business and Politics," *American Political Science Review*, 53 (March, 1959), p. 6. The argument for increasing managerial control was, of course, also put forth by Burnham in 1941, but he was only faintly interested in the effects upon organizations, his thesis being that managers would supplant capitalists in the national and world power elite. See *The Managerial Revolution*, New York: John Day, 1941.

³² Gordon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 339. See his illustrations from General Motors and U.S. Rubber Company in chapter 7.

Macmillan Co., 1955, pp. 77-78; and F. X. Sutton, *et al.*, *The American Business Creed*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956, pp. 57-58. For a contrary view see G. Katona, *Psychological Analysis of Economic Behavior*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951, p. 197.

²⁸ James K. Dent, "Organizational Correlates of the Goals of Business Managements," *Journal of Personnel Psychology*, 12 (Autumn, 1959), pp. 375-376.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 378, 380, 383. Data on types of business, unfortunately, are not presented, except as reflected in the variable "proportion of employers who are white collar . . ."

vironmental factors over which the organization has no control; we are dealing with operating policies which may not be achieved.) Gordon notes that the "historical background" of a company (he does not elaborate this phrase) and especially the training received by its leading executives may be a powerful factor in shaping management decisions. "It is the 'Rockefeller tradition' rather than the present Rockefeller holdings which actively conditions the management decisions in the Standard Oil companies. This tradition is largely responsible for present methods of management organization and internal control, use of the committee system and the domination of boards of directors by [company executives]." ³⁴ Historical factors will certainly shape decisions, but the nature of technology in the oil industry and the trustees' awareness of the prime importance of coordination may have been decisive in that historical experience.

Domination by skill groups is possible in two ways. On the one hand, a department—for example, sales, engineering, research and development, or finance—may, because of the technology and stage of growth, effectively exercise a veto on the executive's decisions and substantially shape decisions in other departments. Second, lines of promotion may be such that top executives are drawn from one powerful department, and retain their identification with the parochial goals of that department. Gordon asserts that chief executives with a legal background are conservative in making price changes and find 'order in the industry' more appealing than aggressive price competition.³⁵ It is possible that engineers, sales executives, and financial executives all have distinctive views on what the operating policies should be.

Thus, goals may vary widely in profit-making organizations, and power may rest not only with trustees or professional administrators, but with skill groups or administrators influenced by their skill background. Of course, one task area may so dominate a firm that there will be no shifts in power, and operative goals will remain fairly stable within the limits of the changing values of

society. But where basic tasks shift, either because of growth or changing technology, the scheme presented here at least alerts us to potential goal changes and their consequences. An ideal-typical sequence would be as follows: trustee domination in initial stages of financing, setting direction for development and recruitment of technical or professional skills; then dominance by the skill group during product or service development and research, only to have subsequent control pass to coordination of fairly routinized activities. As the market and technology change, this cycle could be repeated. During the course of this sequence, operative goals may shift from quantity production and short-run profits as emphasized by trustees, to the engineer's preoccupation with quality at the expense of quantity or styling, with this succeeded by a priority upon styling and unessential innovations demanded by the sales force, and finally with an emphasis upon the long-run market position, conservative attitude towards innovation, and considerable investment in employee-centered policies and programs by management. It is important to note that the formal authority structure may not vary during this sequence, but recruitment into managerial positions and the actual power of management, trustees or skill groups would shift with each new problem focus. Multiple leadership is also possible, as noted in an earlier section.

There are many critical variables influencing the selection of key problem areas and thus the characteristics of the controlling elite and operative goals. They will be applicable to the analysis of any complex organization, whether business, governmental, or voluntary. Among those that should be considered are capital needs and legitimization, the amount of routinization possible, adaptability of technology to market shifts and consumer behavior, possible or required professionalization, and the nature of the work force. Our analysis of profit-making organizations suggests that we should be alert to the possibility of a natural history of changes in task areas, authority, and goals which parallels that of hospitals and other voluntary service organizations. Non-voluntary service organizations may system-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 188.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

atically deviate from this sequence because of the source of capital (government) which influences the commitments of appointive trustees (commissioners), and the character of the administrative tasks. The scheme pre-

sented here, when used in conjunction with the concept of operative goals, may provide a tool for analyzing the dynamics of goal setting and goal changing in all complex organizations.

EVALUATING THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF VARIABLES *

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Two distinct criteria are discussed for evaluating the relative importance of several independent variables in determining the variation in a dependent variable. The quantitative criterion is used primarily with numerical data, whereas the causal criterion often appears in theoretical arguments. Simon's method for making causal inferences from correlational data may offer potentialities for combining these criteria. The indiscriminate use of partial correlations and a single multiple regression equation can yield misleading conclusions in evaluating importance. Instead, an entire set of simultaneous equations is needed.

It has become almost a truism to say that the social scientist must deal with large numbers of variables. In the exploratory phases of any given discipline, one of the most difficult tasks is that of merely locating those variables which seem to be most important in accounting for the variation in some dependent variable. At later stages, however, it becomes increasingly necessary to attempt to evaluate the relative importance of such variables, if only for the practical reason that both theorists and empiricists must limit themselves to a reasonable number of explanatory variables.

The purpose of the present paper is to raise certain questions about the criteria used to determine the relative importance of a number of "independent" variables and to suggest that the indiscriminate use of multiple regression and partial correlational techniques to evaluate importance can, on occasion, yield highly misleading conclusions.¹ It will be argued that a technique proposed by H. A. Simon for making causal inferences from correlational data offers

certain potentialities for overcoming these difficulties.²

TWO CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING IMPORTANCE

There are at least two very different sorts of criteria used in evaluating importance. To oversimplify somewhat, the first criterion is usually applied when the social scientist is dealing with actual numerical data, whereas the second seems to be implied in certain types of theoretical discussions. Unfortunately, the two criteria do not necessarily lead to similar decisions; at least as often as not, they can be expected to yield exactly opposite conclusions.

The Quantitative Criterion. The first type of criterion seems to be purely empirical. Some sort of measure of association between an independent and dependent variable is computed. If there are several independent variables, their relative importance is assessed by comparing measures of association of each independent variable with the dependent variable, usually controlling for all of the remaining independent variables. The measure of association may be some sort of

* This research was conducted while the writer was supported by a Social Science Research Council Postdoctoral Research Training Fellowship.

¹ This general point is not new, of course. See especially Arnold M. Rose, "A Weakness of Partial Correlation in Sociological Studies," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (August, 1949), pp. 536-539.

² Herbert A. Simon, "Spurious Correlation: A Causal Interpretation," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 49 (September, 1954), pp. 467-479.

correlation coefficient, in which case the respective partials are compared. Or the measure may involve a prediction equation in which slopes are used to measure the change in the dependent variable produced by a given change in an independent variable. In the case of multiple regression analysis, one can compute beta weights which indicate the change in the dependent variable produced by standardized changes in each independent variable controlling for all the remaining variables. Usually, although not always, the conclusions reached using partial correlations will be essentially similar to those arrived at using beta weights.³ For our purposes we shall therefore consider these various measures of association as involving a single type of criterion which, for convenience, we shall refer to as the *quantitative criterion* for evaluating the importance of variables.

One extremely significant point about this quantitative criterion deserves special emphasis. The importance of a given independent variable is always a function of the amount of variation in that variable. This is perhaps most obvious in the case of regression coefficients, where we are interested in the amount of change in the dependent variable produced by a given change in an independent variable. But the magnitude of a correlation coefficient also depends on the extent of variation in the independent variable, though this fact is sometimes not explicitly recognized.

The same argument would apply to purely theoretical attempts to assess importance. For example, in explaining minority discrimination it would seem to be meaningless to claim that economic variables are more important than religious ideologies, or even that a plantation economy is more important than Catholic ideology in explaining the position of Negroes in Brazil. Some basis for comparison must always be made. Thus one might argue that the *differences* between the econ-

omies of Brazil and the American South were more important than *differences* between Catholic and Protestant ideologies in accounting for differences in discrimination. Similarly, one would not ask whether temperature is more important than volume in determining the pressure of a gas in an enclosed space. But one could assess the change produced in pressure by a given change in either temperature or volume, and one might then answer the question as to which of these specific changes had the greatest effect on pressure.⁴ The quantitative criterion of importance can be applied only to *specific* cases and not to abstract relationships among variables.

The Causal Criterion. Let us now turn to a second criterion of importance, one which does not appear explicitly in discussions in the literature but which nevertheless seems to be used in various theoretical arguments. This criterion involves the causal ordering among variables and will be labeled the *causal criterion*. Briefly put, if A causes B and B in turn causes C, it may be argued that A is more important than B in determining C since A is a more ultimate cause, whereas B is merely an immediate cause. Thus if the nature of the economy is seen to determine in part the details of the socialization process, which in turn affect specific beliefs concerning the nature of God, then economic variables are considered the more important of the two. Similarly, if the Northward migration of Negroes makes possible a more vigorous protest movement which, in turn, leads to lesser discrimination, then it is this migration rather than any social psychological leadership variables which is conceived to be most important. Or in Linton's discussion of social change among the Tanala-Betsileo the most important factor in determining a change in mental outlook and personality would be taken to be the change from dry to wet rice, since it was presumably

³ For example, if a relationship is nonlinear or if the dispersion about the regression equation does not remain constant from one point of the curve to the next, certain peculiar results may be obtained. For an excellent discussion of the use of beta weights as an alternative to partial correlation see Donald J. Bogue and D. L. Harris, *Comparative Population and Urban Research via Multiple Regression and Covariance Analysis*, Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, 1954, pp. 3-18.

⁴ The scientist could also attempt to answer the practical question whether it would be *easier* to produce a given change in pressure by changing the volume or temperature. Several persons have pointed out to the writer that the ease with which a change can be made in a given variable may somehow affect one's evaluation of its importance. This suggests a possible third criterion of importance, but one which will not be discussed in the present paper.

this change which set in motion a chain reaction ultimately resulting in changes in personality.⁵

It can immediately be seen that this type of causal criterion is both sensible, in some sense, and yet capable of leading to endless debate. If pushed to the extreme, it would lead to absurd conclusions since if

$$A \rightarrow B \rightarrow C \rightarrow \dots \rightarrow K \rightarrow L$$

then A is a more important factor than K in determining L regardless of the weaknesses in any part of the causal chain, and regardless of the strength of the relationship between K and L. It can be shown for such a simple causal chain that intercorrelations among various pairs of variables become weaker and weaker the further removed the variables are from one another in the chain.⁶ Thus

$$|r_{AL}| \leq |r_{BL}| \leq |r_{KL}|$$

and in this particular case the quantitative and causal criteria lead to opposite conclusions.

Perhaps the adherent of the quantitative criterion would argue that it is theoretically meaningless or at least unwise to become involved with the problem of evaluating the relative importances of variables which stand in some sort of causal relationship to each other. It might be claimed that we must recognize that some causes are more immediate than others and that one can legitimately compare only those variables which have the same degree of immediacy. The contrary argument, however, would obviously be that such an ideal is neither practically nor theoretically possible. Since, in reality, most variables with which the social scientist deals are linked in a rather complex causal network, the criterion one uses must reflect this fact and cannot ignore completely the problem of causation. To say that an immediate cause is the most important factor, merely because it is most highly associated with the dependent variable, is to take an absurdly extreme position.

Ideally, it might be desirable to develop a single criterion for evaluating importance

which, somehow or another, would combine the desirable features of both the quantitative and causal criteria. It would also be advantageous if this single criterion could be stated with sufficient precision that it could be applied unambiguously to relatively complicated multivariate causal networks. For the present, we can only indicate the direction in which a fruitful search for a combined criterion might be made. A quantitative technique is needed which can take into consideration the various causal relationships among "independent" variables. Before discussing such a technique, however, we shall first consider the kinds of questions that can and cannot be answered by ordinary multiple regression methods.

SINGLE MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATIONS VERSUS SIMON'S METHOD

The contrast between laboratory experiments and real life situations is of course well known. In the laboratory, the scientist raises a series of hypothetical questions concerning the covariation among several variables with other relevant variables remaining constant or, at least, with the supposed effects of these other variables somehow being taken into consideration. The multiple regression equation has been designed with this ideal in mind. In multiple regression we can investigate the amount of change produced in a single dependent variable Y by a given change in any particular independent variable X_i with the effects of the remaining variables controlled. If beta weights are used, we may compare the relative changes in the dependent variable for standardized changes in the various independent variables, each time with the effects of the other variables controlled. Likewise, one may use the square of the partial correlation coefficient to give the proportion of variation in the dependent variable associated with any given independent variable after adjusting for the effects of the remaining variables.⁷

The use of such beta weights or partial

⁵ See Ralph Linton, "The Tanala of Madagascar," in Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*, New York: Columbia University, 1939, pp. 251-290.

⁶ See Simon, *op. cit.*

⁷ Actually, controlling by means of partial correlations involves an adjusting operation which is somewhat different from literally holding the control variables constant. But the actual method of controlling is not of concern to us in the present discussion.

correlations enables one to answer the hypothetical question as to what would happen to the dependent variable if all but one of the independent variables were to remain fixed. If we cannot conceive of a laboratory situation in which all but one of the independent variables were literally held constant, we can at least imagine survey data for which there are some cases having identical values for all but one of these independent variables. Within each of these sets of cases, we could then investigate the relationship between the dependent variable and the remaining independent variable.⁸ Actually, in using a regression equation we conceive of a distribution of Y's for fixed values of X_1 . In other words, the various values of X_1 are taken as givens and the Y's are predicted from these values.⁹ For example, if we thought of a student as having certain abilities and certain motivational tendencies which would remain constant during his four years of college, we then might use scores on various tests designed to measure these traits in order to predict his performance. The predicted performance would be the mean performance level for all students having exactly his combination of abilities and motivation. Or we might ask questions of the following type: "If a student's abilities were to remain the same, how will his performance be affected by a given change in his motivation?"

But we can also ask a very different type of question, one which at first glance seems to be similar to the above question. We may ask, "What is the change, or expected change, produced in Y by a given change in a particular X_1 , given the fact that certain of the other supposedly independent variables also may be affected by this change in X_1 ?" The single regression equation with Y as the dependent variable takes into consideration the correlations among the various X's, but it begs the question of the direction of causality among these variables. Presum-

ably, they are merely thought not to be causally dependent on Y, although there is nothing in the mathematical formula for the regression equation to prevent one from interchanging Y with any of the X's. Such a single equation does not permit one to distinguish between situations in which X_1 causes X_2 and those where X_2 causes X_1 .

In raising this second kind of question we seem to be coming closer to real-life situations in which there is a complex causal network where not only is Y causally dependent on the various X's, but some of these X's in turn are causally dependent on certain of the others. Thus if a particular change in one X occurs, not only may there be a direct effect on Y, but there may be effects on some of the remaining X's and therefore an additional indirect effect on Y. In fact, there may be no direct effect on Y at all but only a series of indirect effects. For example, we may have a causal pattern as indicated in Figure 1.

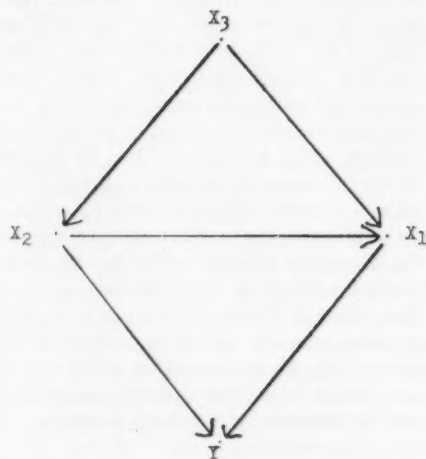


FIGURE 1

To represent such a causal network we need not one but a number of separate equations which, when taken simultaneously, can be used to predict changes in Y. For example, assuming linearity, the network in Figure 1 can be represented by the following set of equations:

$$\begin{aligned}
 Y &= a_1 + b_{11}X_1 + b_{12}X_2 + e_1 \\
 X_1 &= a_2 + b_{22}X_2 + b_{23}X_3 + e_2 \\
 X_2 &= a_3 + b_{33}X_3 + e_3
 \end{aligned}$$

⁸ The criticism of the indiscriminate use of controls also applies to controls involving contingency tables as well as to partial correlations. Our discussion is in terms of correlation coefficients primarily for purposes of clarity of presentation.

⁹ The usual distinction is being made here between the regression equation and the least squares equation used for purposes of estimation.

where the e 's represent the effects of all variables not taken into consideration in the causal model.¹⁰

If X_3 were to change there would be direct effects on X_1 and X_2 but only an indirect effect on Y . If X_2 were to change there would be no effect on X_3 but both X_1 and Y would be changed, and furthermore the total effect on Y would stem not only from the direct effect of X_2 but from the change in X_1 as well. In any given case we could estimate the change in Y by making use of the complete set of equations. Thus if X_3 changes by one unit, X_2 will change b_{33} units. The change in X_1 will then be $b_{22}b_{33} + b_{23}$, the second term being due to X_3 directly and the first to the indirect effect through X_2 . We can now predict a change in Y in a similar manner. This change will be

$$b_{11}(b_{22}b_{33} + b_{23}) + b_{12}b_{33}$$

Suppose, however, that we had asked about the change in Y for a change in X_3 , presupposing that X_1 and X_2 remained constant. It can be shown that in such an instance we would have reached the conclusion that Y would not change.¹¹ This is both correct and misleading unless we clearly understand that we have raised an hypothetical question which may, in real life, be absurd. At least if we are to produce a change in X_3 without corresponding changes in X_1 and X_2 , we must introduce certain *other* variables in the laboratory situation which exactly counteract the effects of X_3 . The major point is that although the use of a single prediction equation may be useful in answering the type of hypothetical question which can be answered in laboratory experiments, we must not be tempted to use such a method in

answering more complex questions in which we take into consideration the causal relationships among the variables which have been treated as independent. In this latter instance, which we recognize as being perhaps more realistic for most problems with which the social scientist deals, we need to work with an entire *set* of equations rather than with a single equation and a single dependent variable.

A method proposed by H. A. Simon for making causal inferences from correlational data makes use of such a set of simultaneous equations.¹² In the present paper it will be sufficient merely to outline the essentials of Simon's method since the procedure has been discussed at greater length elsewhere.¹³ Simon restricts himself to linear models, but in principle his argument is quite general. Basically, the method involves writing an equation for each variable in the system taken as a possible dependent variable. Some of the regression coefficients can then be set equal to zero if there is no *direct* link between the two variables concerned. If certain assumptions can be made about outside variables which may possibly have disturbing effects, one can then make use of this set of equations rather than the single regression equation. A series of prediction equations can be derived which can be used to test the adequacy of any given causal model. Once a given model has been decided upon, the method can then be used to enable one to estimate not only the direct effects of a change in one variable but the indirect effects as well.

DIRECTION OF CAUSALITY AND THE USE OF CONTROLS

If we wish to combine the quantitative and causal criteria of importance, we must decide upon the conditions under which we should or should not control for other "independent" variables. Such a decision will presumably depend upon the assumed causal order-

¹⁰ For a discussion of the rationale for describing causal relationships in terms of a set of simultaneous equations see Herbert A. Simon, "Causal Ordering and Identifiability," Chap. 3 in *Studies in Econometric Methods* (Cowles Commission Monograph 14).

¹¹ This can be shown by making use of Simon's method which is described in the following paragraph. This method requires the assumption that the various e 's are uncorrelated, i.e., that possible outside disturbing influences have essentially random effects on the relationships among the variables included in the causal system. Some such assumptions about outside variables are of course always necessary if one is to make causal inferences.

¹² See Herbert A. Simon, "Spurious Correlation: A Causal Interpretation," *loc. cit.*

¹³ *Ibid.* See also Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., *Social Statistics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960, pp. 337-343, and Hubert M. Blalock, Jr., "Correlation and Causality: The Multivariate Case," *Social Forces*, 39 (March, 1961), pp. 246-251.

ing among these variables. Let us suppose that Simon's method, or perhaps some other technique of a similar nature, has been used to test the goodness of fit of a particular causal model to the empirical data. We are then in a position to commit ourselves on a particular causal model and can next raise questions as to the use of controls.

The question of when and when not to control for a given variable seems to be considerably more complex than is often recognized. Here, it will be sufficient to point out that the answer depends on whether one is primarily interested in determining the relative importance of certain variables or whether one's concern is with problems of interpretation or specification.¹⁴ Where

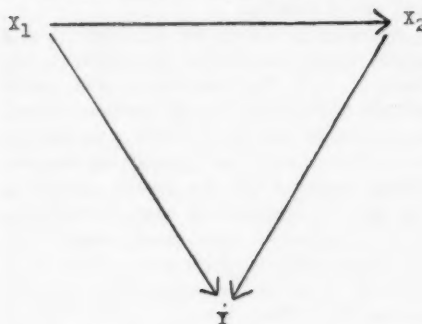


FIGURE 2

one is attempting to assess importance, and interest centers therefore on indirect as well as direct effects of some independent variable, it would seem to make little sense to control for intervening variables. But can any really general rules be established enabling one to decide when to control? Before such rules can be laid down, we would have to know considerably more about the behavior of both the correlation and regression

coefficients under various assumptions about causal models and outside variables. In the present paper, the best we can do is to indicate the direction in which the answer would seem to lie.

Suppose we had only three variables related causally as in Figure 2. According to the causal criterion of importance, X_1 would automatically be more important than X_2 . At first glance, it might seem as though the quantitative criterion would point to the same conclusion, but we must remember that the direct relationship between X_2 and Y might be much stronger than those between X_1 and X_2 , on the one hand, and X_1 and Y on the other. How, then, would we compare the relative importance of X_1 and X_2 ? Would we compare $r_{Y1.2}$ with $r_{Y2.1}$?¹⁵ Or would we use r_{Y1} versus $r_{Y2.1}$? Probably the latter if we reasoned that the relationship between X_2 and Y is partly spurious and if we wished to take into consideration both the direct and indirect effects of X_1 . We see, however, that when decisions must be made about controls, the quantitative criterion of importance is by no means unambiguous. Also, our decision as to controls may depend on whether our measure of importance involves correlation or regression coefficients. For instance under the assumptions required for Simon's method, it can be shown that if the arrow between X_1 and Y were erased the magnitude of $r_{Y2.1}$ would be less than that of r_{Y2} . But the comparable betas would be identical, indicating no change in the slope of the relationship between X_2 and Y when X_1 is controlled.

In the case of the three variable chain $X_1 \rightarrow X_2 \rightarrow Y$, a control for the intervening variable X_2 will produce a zero value for both the partial correlation and beta between X_1 and Y if the assumptions for Simon's method are met. In this very simple case we have a rather obvious and dramatic instance in which the automatic use of multiple regression might lead to absurd conclusions. In more complex situations, however, it may be much more difficult to keep track of what is happening.

¹⁴ For an excellent discussion of these other types of controlling situations see Herbert Hyman, *Survey Design and Analysis*, Glencoe: The Free Press, 1955, pp. 275-329. Where interpretation is the goal, a control for an intervening variable may legitimately be made in order to see whether or not the partial reduces to zero. If such a partial is zero in the three-variable case, and if certain assumptions can be made both about the causal ordering among the three variables and also about variables not included in the system, it may then be concluded that there is no direct link between the independent and dependent variables.

¹⁵ We are using this somewhat unconventional notation to emphasize that Y has been taken as the single dependent variable. The symbol $r_{Y1.2}$ means the correlation between Y and X_1 , controlling for X_2 .

Suppose we had a situation involving five variables, with the causal model as indicated in Figure 3. In another paper, the author

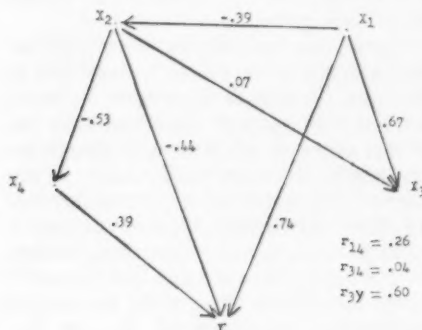


FIGURE 3

concluded, using Simon's method, that this particular causal model represented a better fit to certain empirical data than several other models.¹⁶ To discuss the particular variables concerned would introduce considerations which are extraneous to the present argument. Instead, let us assume the causal model to be correct and focus attention on the numerical values of the various correlation coefficients which are also given in Figure 3. In this particular instance both causal and quantitative criteria for importance would seem to point to X_1 as the most important variable in determining Y . Not only is the zero-order coefficient between X_1 and Y larger than any other correlation, but X_1 is taken as either a direct or an indirect cause of all the other variables.

What if we had more or less indiscriminately related Y to each of these independent variables, with controls on each of the remaining variables? Of course with a best-fitting causal model in front of us, there would be little reason for carrying out such an operation. Among other things, we would perhaps argue that controlling for X_3 makes little sense in that the relationship between X_3 and Y is spurious.¹⁷ This is, in fact, the major argument in favor of some such at-

tempt to assess the causal interrelationships among variables. For if we were to relate X_1 to Y , controlling for X_2 , X_3 , and X_4 , we would find that the correlation would be reduced from .74 to .33. Furthermore with controls on the other three variables, the correlation between X_3 and Y would be changed from .60 to .38, and we might be led to the conclusion that with "all relevant variables controlled," X_3 is slightly more important than X_1 . Using the figure, however, and admitting the possibility of a direct causal link between X_3 and Y , it would undoubtedly seem more reasonable to compare $r_{y3.12}$ with r_{y1} rather than $r_{y1.234}$. Likewise, r_{y1} might also be compared with $r_{y2.1}$ and with $r_{y4.12}$ if one wished to combine the quantitative and causal criteria.

As indicated above, the development of a single criterion combining the desirable features of both the quantitative and causal criteria of importance would seem to depend on our being able to set forth a completely unambiguous set of rules specifying the conditions under which we should control in the general multivariate case. Tentatively, we may suggest that one should control only for those variables which are assumed to be causally prior to the independent variable in question.¹⁸ Note, however, that in the case of Figure 3 there is a possible ambiguity as to whether to control for X_4 in relating X_3 to Y , though such a control would probably make little sense in this instance. Once the mathematical implications of Simon's method have been more thoroughly worked out it is hoped that such issues can be satisfactorily resolved. It may also be possible to see more clearly the relative advantages and disadvantages of using slopes as contrasted with correlation coefficients as measures of relative importance.

A Note on Reciprocal Causation. We have completely ignored thus far the problem of reciprocal causation. Ideally, we must always allow for the possibility of two-way causation and also for the fact that a causal relationship may be stronger in one direction than in the other. If we raise the hypothetical question as to how much change we would expect in one variable given a change in the other,

¹⁶ Blalock, "Correlation and Causality: the Multivariate Case," *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ Actually, the data indicate that it may be reasonable to draw an additional arrow from X_3 to Y , in which case this relationship—as measured by r_{y3} —is only partly spurious.

¹⁸ This proposal is certainly not original. See Rose, *op. cit.*

we may reach the theoretical conclusion that a change in either variable would affect the other. For example it might be argued that not only would certain types of changes in the economy lead to changes in the socialization process, but, likewise, if changes in the latter type of variable were to occur, the economy would also be affected. If, for some reason, all children in America were brought up in Gandhian fashion and taught to scorn material goods, there would undoubtedly be certain major changes in the American economy.

In raising such hypothetical questions we are not attempting to assess the *likelihood* of a given initial change in one or the other of these variables. We have simply asked what would happen to the economy if certain changes were made in the socialization process. When we pose the question of the likelihood of such a change, we immediately run into the problem of the relationship of each of these two variables to *other* factors. In real-life situations it may turn out that we practically always find changes in the economy followed by changes in socialization, rather than the other way around. This does not invalidate the assumption that there is reciprocal causation involved; it may merely indicate that initial changes in the one variable are easier to achieve or are more likely than changes in the other variable. In some other type of social system, perhaps one in which children are trained at a very early age by agents of the state, a consciously developed plan to modify socialization may have important effects on the economy. Again we need to distinguish the hypothetical question involving presumed changes from the kind of question we are apt to ask about an actual situation occurring outside the laboratory of the scientist. This does not mean that the answers to the scientist's hypothetical questions may not ultimately provide answers to more complex problems. For our purposes it is sufficient to emphasize that the two types of questions need to be clearly distinguished.

If two-way causation is assumed, the problems of evaluating relative importance and of deciding on the use of control variables become much more complex. Also, Simon's method yields results which have not as yet been systematically investigated

by the writer. Considerably more attention needs to be given to the question of reciprocal causation before the various issues raised in the present paper can be resolved.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Two criteria for evaluating the importance of variables, a quantitative and a causal criterion, have been discussed. Also, the distinction has been made between the kinds of questions that may be answered by ordinary regression analysis and those requiring the use of an entire set of simultaneous equations which allow for possible causal relationships among the supposedly independent variables. If one wants to make use of the purely quantitative criterion for evaluating importance, thereby begging the question of the causal interrelationships among independent variables, one may legitimately make use of beta weights or partial correlations. In so doing, one will obtain answers to the hypothetical question, "What is the relationship between the dependent variable and any given independent variable, assuming fixed values for the remaining independent variables?"

If one wishes to combine the two criteria for importance by somehow assessing the indirect as well as the direct effects of changes in any of the independent variables, one must first commit oneself to an appropriate causal model. Simon's method for making causal inferences from correlational data provides us with a procedure for evaluating the degree to which a given set of data actually fits such a causal model. The next step is to decide whether or not to control for a particular variable when relating some other factor to the dependent variable. Ultimately, it may prove possible to provide a completely unambiguous set of rules for making such a decision.

It may turn out that rather than searching for such a single combined criterion of importance, it will be more fruitful to think in terms of an orderly sequence of specific questions, each of which permits a relatively simple answer. A list of such questions might be as follows:

1. What is the *causal ordering* among all of the variables included in the system? (Simon's method provides a goodness-of-fit

test for evaluating the adequacy of any given causal model.)

2. Given these assumptions about the causal network, what is the relative magnitude of each *direct* relationship? (Here, some rules for controlling for remaining variables would be required.)

3. Given these assumptions about the causal network and given the measures of each direct relationship, what is the *total effect*, direct and indirect, of a change in one variable on any other variable in the system? (Here, if we are using slopes to measure effects, we would need to make use of an entire set of simultaneous equations as was done illustratively above.)

4. Given the answers to the above three questions, which variables are *most likely* to change under given circumstances? (Answers to this question may involve variables not included in the causal system but may also help to resolve debates over reciprocal causation.)

5. Given answers to the first three questions, what is the *easiest* way to produce a given change in a dependent variable? (This is the practical question involved in social engineering.)

The kind of program of specific questions outlined above may seem to require a degree of knowledge which is completely unrealistic to expect of the social sciences in the near future. Perhaps, however, the explicit statement of an ideal will make it less tempting for an individual social scientist to assess the relative importance of variables by merely shrugging off the question of causal relationships among independent variables. Nor will he be as likely to go ahead more or less blindly controlling for all relevant variables without stopping to ask himself what kinds of questions he can hope to answer in such a manner or whether he is actually posing the kinds of questions he really wishes to have answered.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF INTRA-OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: SOME METHODOLOGICAL AND THEORETICAL NOTES, TOGETHER WITH A CASE STUDY OF ENGINEERS *

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The major problems facing most researchers concerned with measuring the relative "openness" of the American social structure stem from two difficulties: (1) the use of gross occupational categories to assess the number of occupational shifts between fathers and sons ignores the amount of variation that can take place within any single category; and (2) the statistical procedures used to measure changes over time have focused primarily on "mean mobility rates" and not on internal occupational shifts. The present study focuses upon a single occupational category (Professional) whose members have all utilized an institutionalized avenue of mobility (education). A time-comparative sample of engineers is analyzed to determine the effect of social economic origins upon the relative prestige of one's job position in the professional category, and to make a trend statement as to the relative "openness" or "rigidity" of the American social structure.

RESEARCHERS concerned with stratification and social mobility have usually attempted to make some statement regarding whether the American social struc-

ture is becoming more open or closed. By and large there has been little agreement among sociologists. One group has seen the door of opportunity slowly closing, leaving the Horatio Alger myth as part of a bygone era.¹ Another group looks with optimism

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¹ See, e.g., F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, *American Business Leaders*, New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932; J. O. Hertzler, "Some

toward expanding horizons with increased opportunities for all.² These differing conclusions have, for the most part, resulted from the use of different populations as the unit of analysis and from the employment of different methodological procedures for determining social economic positions. Some studies have utilized a sample representing a wide range of occupations, while others have focused on more "elite" occupational roles. Similarly, most studies have differed in the use of a classificatory scheme for father's and son's occupation. Because of the varied approaches, there seems to be little conclusive evidence concerning changes in the American opportunity structure.

One of the more recent efforts to attack the question of change in the American social structure has been Natalie Rogoff's study of occupational mobility.³ Being most sensitive to the shortcomings of previous work, Rogoff considered the factor of changes in the composition of the occupational structure as crucial in any attempt to evaluate the amount of movement taking place between occupational categories over time. As such, Rogoff's study has received considerable attention by sociologists, primarily in terms of accepting her conclusion that no significant change has occurred in overall mobility rates in the time periods included in her study.⁴

This paper will be concerned with several related problems. First, an examination will be made of some of the major difficulties involved in attempts to measure the relative openness of a social structure; this refers to the variation that can exist *within* a gross occupational category, and the implications this variation has for estimating variation *among* occupational categories. Secondly, we

will re-examine the meaning of an "opening" or "closing" social structure and suggest the kinds of data needed to test such a proposition. Thirdly, a time-comparative sample of college graduates whose job positions fall within *one* occupational category will be examined to estimate the effect of their social class origins upon the relative prestige of their present job position within the engineering profession.

VARIATION WITHIN OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES

Efforts to study change over times must involve the establishment of a set of social categories whose change is measured. Hence, studies seeking to examine movement in social space have taken occupations as their basic unit, since one's position in economic life is a major factor affecting position in the social class structure. The result is that most mobility research utilizes some means of occupational classification whereby those occupations assumed to be so similar as to form a social economic grouping are combined into broad categories. The most widely used set of categories in the United States is that developed by Alba Edwards and used by the United States Census Bureau.⁵ While all mobility studies do not use Edwards' categories specifically, their variations on the Edwards scale still make the same assumption of categorizing occupations assumed to be similar along some dimension.

The use of these broad occupational categories in mobility studies involves the assumption that those people who fall into a particular category (e.g. Professional) are similar as to social and economic characteristics. This assumption, however, does not seem quite valid in light of the very large variations within a single occupational category. For example, to treat all persons in the category "Professional" as similar with respect to social economic position is to lose sight of the variations which may range from a seventy thousand dollar per year surgeon to a ten thousand dollar per year general practitioner. In fact, these variations within

Tendencies Toward a Closed Class System in the United States," *Social Forces*, 30 (March, 1952), pp. 313-323.

² See, e.g., W. Lloyd Warner and James C. Abegglen, *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry, 1928-1952*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955; Stuart Adams, "Trends in Occupational Origins of Business Leaders," *American Sociological Review*, 19 (October, 1954), pp. 541-548.

³ Natalie Rogoff, *Recent Trends in Occupational Mobility*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953.

⁴ See, e.g., Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1957; Joseph A. Kahl, *The American Class Structure*, New York: Rinehart and Company, 1953.

⁵ Alba M. Edwards, "A Social-Economic Grouping of the Gainful Workers of the United States," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, 28 (December, 1933), pp. 377-387.

TABLE 1. PER CENT DISTRIBUTION OF PRESENT JOB POSITION BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION OF ENGINEERING GRADUATES (1911-1950)

Job Position	Father's Occupation			
	Professional, Semi-Prof.	Clerical and Sales	Skilled and Semi-Skilled	Unskilled
President				
Vice-President	20.9	13.8	11.8	12.1
Ass't. Chief Eng.				
Chief Engineer	24.0	25.4	25.6	20.8
Ass't. Sup't.				
District Engineer	21.4	22.3	21.9	20.3
Design Engineer				
Project Engineer	33.7	38.4	40.7	46.7
Total per cent	100.0	99.9	100.0	99.9
No. of cases	705	614	577	571

$\chi^2=41.5$ $p\leq.001$.

Chi-squares for controlled analysis are:

1911-1930 graduates: $\chi^2=21.18$ $p\leq.02$.

1931-1940 graduates: $\chi^2=26.63$ $p\leq.01$.

1941-1950 graduates: $\chi^2=27.93$ $p\leq.001$.

a single category may provide a better picture of the openness of a social structure since they involve the very factors that remain more or less hidden when broad groupings are used. If one were to find, for example, that a person's relative position within the category "Professional" ⁶ is related to his class origins (i.e., father's occupation) then we have a hidden effect that raises further questions concerning the openness of our opportunity structure. An example of these wide variations within the category "Professional" may be seen in Table 1. Table 1 contains a sample of engineering graduates ⁷ arranged according to the occupational category of their father's occupation at the time the graduates were in college, and the relative prestige of their present job position ⁸ within the engineering profession. The distribution with respect to father's occupation and present job position of sons indicates that the sons of fathers of high status occupations are more likely to occupy

high status job positions in the engineering profession than are sons of fathers of low status occupations. This would indicate a substantial loss of precision which results from combining all respondents under the general category of "Professional," and giving each an equal weight in the amount of mobility achieved. The mere fact that sons of fathers of low status occupations become engineers cannot be used as full evidence of an opening social structure. It is generally assumed that both economic and demographic changes have made it necessary to recruit sons of lower class origins into high status occupations.⁹ The important fact, however, is the relative position of the lower class sons as compared to the upper class sons. From one viewpoint, a stratification system at any particular point in time may be considered as a rank order of statuses. Hence, if the economy changes so that everyone moves up we have the impression of increased mobility while everyone still remains in the same rank order.¹⁰ This very impression of increased mobility is a further source of error in the use of gross occupational categories.

⁶ We assume that all those occupations that fall into the general category of "Professional" (or any other category) are not equally valued occupations; hence, we may speak of a person's relative position within any occupational category.

⁷ See footnote 20 for an explanation of the sampling procedures.

⁸ See the section on "Procedure" for an explanation of the means used to determine the relative prestige of the engineers' present job position.

⁹ Elbridge Sibley, "Some Demographic Clues to Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, 7 (May, 1941), pp. 322-333.

¹⁰ For an expanded discussion of this general point, see: James M. Beshers, *Urban Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, Forthcoming.

With this variation within an occupational category in mind, let us turn our attention to the statistical problems involved in attempting to make statements concerning changes in movement in and out of categories over time.

The usual procedure has been to present a matrix arrangement of father's occupation against son's occupation for two separate time periods for the purpose of determining whether any occupational shifts have taken place. Thus for "Time 1" we have a matrix of " X_{ij} " entries, and for "Time 2" a matrix of " Y_{ij} " entries. The hypothesis tested by previous researchers is that the means of all the individual cell frequencies in each time period do not differ significantly from each other. Symbolically it is:

$$\begin{aligned} \sum \sum (X_{ij} - Y_{ij}) &= 0 \\ \text{or} \\ \frac{\sum \sum X_{ij}}{N} - \frac{\sum \sum Y_{ij}}{N} &= 0 \end{aligned}$$

Stated in terms of the data the hypothesis is that the movement of sons out of their father's occupational category and into another category has not changed significantly between "Time 1" and "Time 2." The statistical procedures used to test this hypothesis warrant some consideration and comment.

Using Rogoff's technique as more or less typical of most recent mobility research (conceptually if not statistically) our first concern is with the procedure of computing "mean mobility rates."¹¹ A "mean mobility rate" is obtained by summing across all individual cell rates for a particular time period (e.g., "Time 1"); it is repeated again for a second time period (e.g., "Time 2"), with the two means being compared to ascertain whether there has been an increase or decrease in total mobility. This procedure, however, pays no attention to the particular cell in which over-representation or under-representation has occurred. For example, an examination of Rogoff's tables¹² from which "mean mobility rates" were computed indicates that the individual cell ratios could be completely rearranged without affecting the

over-all mobility rate. Since the marginal frequencies in Rogoff's tables do not determine the internal cell frequencies there are a large number of possible combinations of internal cell frequencies (hence cell ratios) that would yield the same "mean mobility rate." However valid this procedure may be statistically, a rearrangement of cell ratios would present an entirely different picture regarding where the sons of professionals are moving, or how many sons of skilled workers remain skilled workers. The two time periods might also contain a complete reversal in the direction of mobility which would not or could not be revealed by the mean rate.

In short, then, the lumping together of all individual cell mobility rates in order to compute a mean or average rate fails to identify between which occupational categories the most or least movement is taking place. When we try to answer the crucial question of how open a social structure is, the rate of movement of sons of professionals into unskilled occupations is more important than their rate of movement into semi-professional occupations.¹³ Similarly the rate of movement for sons of unskilled workers into professional occupations is more significant, again from the point of view of the flexibility of the social structure, than their rate of movement would be into skilled occupations.

Secondly, the amount of hidden variation that takes place *within* gross occupational categories (as seen in Table 1) must be accounted for in any attempt to assess the amount of variation taking place *between* categories for two separate time periods. In statistical terminology, the presence of variation between two groups (on some criterion) is established when the variation within groups is minimized. Hence, in the problem

¹¹ For a discussion of this procedure, see Rogoff, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

¹² Rogoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.

¹³ For a specific discussion of the lesser importance of movement in and out of contiguous occupational categories, see: Melvin M. Tumin and Arthur S. Feldman, "Theory and Measurement of Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (June, 1957), pp. 281-288. For a general discussion of the problems involved in the measurement of mobility, see: Peter M. Blau, "Occupational Bias and Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 22 (August, 1957), pp. 392-399; and Charles F. Westoff, Marvin Bressler, and Philip C. Sagi, "The Concept of Social Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (June, 1960), pp. 375-385.

at hand, a considerable variation within groups makes it most difficult to establish variation between groups. This may account for the inability of the Rogoff data to account for any significant change in occupational movement between the two time periods.

THE RELATIVE OPENNESS OF SOCIAL STRUCTURES

The second objective of this paper is to re-examine the meaning of an "open" or "closed" structure and to suggest an alternative approach for assessing changes in the social structure over time.

The studies cited above have been primarily concerned with the question of how much movement has taken place between father's and son's occupations over time. The focus has been on occupations in each stratum, from top to bottom, in order to see where the sons of professionals move, or where the sons of unskilled workers move, i.e., what occupational position they hold. Any change over time in the amount of movement that takes place between occupations is then used as an index of the relative openness or rigidity of the social structure. In this way a view of the total structure is obtained by establishing the rates of movement *in* and *out* of occupations in each stratum.¹⁴

This particular approach, however, has certain limitations. Aside from the increased error which may result from the research design and the statistical techniques used to compute mobility rates, as indicated above, there is the further question of the precise meaning attached to an increase or decrease in occupational shifts over time. An increase in movement out of the occupational category of the fathers, by the sons, may indi-

cate that the structure is opening, or it may only indicate a shift in the occupational structure related to the changing nature of the economy. For example, a reduction in the number of skilled occupations needed, along with an attendant increase in the need for clerical workers, would necessarily cause such occupational shifts.

Being unable to partial out and control the various sources of error in the "total structure" approach, we can perhaps find other indicators of the openness of a structure by looking at those aspects of stratification systems that are used to classify a structure as "open" or "closed." These classificatory aspects may be found in the nature of the institutionalized norms concerning social mobility. Thus in examining the ideology associated with the traditional Indian social structure, an archetype of the "closed" structure, we find a disapproval of social mobility, a legitimization of inequality, and a relative absence of specific means or channels for legitimate mobility. The open class ideology in the United States, an archetype of the "open" structure, emphasizes equality of opportunity, approves of upward mobility, and specifies the means by which legitimate mobility is to be achieved.¹⁵

Still another aspect of an open social structure is the existence of legitimate means for movement in and out of *any* position in society. For example, the son of a laborer can become a doctor *provided* he uses the appropriate means. Given the existence of certain means for mobility, there are two tests which may be utilized to assess change in the relative openness of a social structure. The first test relates to the question of differential access to the institutionalized means for mobility, e.g., who can or does go to college. The second test involves the question of differential distribution of rewards after the utilization of appropriate institutionalized

¹⁴ By way of comparison, "elite" studies of mobility have assumed that if you look at people who have arrived at the top and see where they came from, you can make statements concerning the openness of the social structure. One of the shortcomings of this approach is, presumably, that if all the members of an elite occupation came from the very bottom of the structure, it would still be possible to have a very closed social structure, in terms of the *proportions* of people in each of the strata below the top who stay where they are, move up only slightly, or drop.

¹⁵ It should be noted that occupational shifts in India have been associated with efforts to obtain more favored caste status, and as such, operate as a channel of mobility. However, there is a relative absence of specific normative directives and accompanying institutionalized means for social mobility comparable to those found in the educational system in the United States. See, Barber, *op. cit.*, Chapter 13, for a discussion of institutional norms and social mobility.

means.¹⁶ When the son of a laborer who has not finished high school becomes a stock clerk, and the son of a lawyer who goes to medical school becomes a physician, we have a situation of differential access to institutionalized avenues of mobility. We cannot apply the differential rewards test, because in the case of the laborer's son the appropriate institutionalized means for mobility have not been utilized, while in the case of the lawyer's son they have been utilized. If, however, the son of a laborer and the son of a lawyer both go to medical school with the former becoming a neighborhood general practitioner and the latter a "Park Avenue specialist," we then have a situation of differential rewards related to social economic origins despite the utilization of the appropriate institutionalized means. This reward distribution is not legitimized because both sons "played the game" and were not similarly rewarded.

It is suggested, therefore, that an examination of the institutionalized norms which define legitimate means of achieving mobility will result in a better understanding of the openness of our social structure. Since education is the predominant institutionalized avenue of mobility in our society,¹⁷ we will compare the relative prestige of the present job positions of a sample of college graduates who completed their engineering training between the years 1911 through 1950; we will examine the extent to which graduates of varying social class backgrounds do or do not hold job positions of equal prestige in the engineering profession.

In this way, we shall be able to control many of the sources of error not accounted for in previous mobility research. For example, all respondents in the sample can be assumed to be equally prepared for their present occupation since each person has

been trained and graduated in the same area of specialized knowledge. This also holds constant, to some extent, such factors as level of aspiration and mobility orientation of the respondent. Secondly, all the respondents in the sample are in the same profession and thus would presumably be equally affected by any changes in the economy or occupational structure.

What we have outlined, then, is a preliminary model for estimating whether our social structure is becoming more open or closed. The model is not concerned with the movement of sons into any occupational category, but the relative prestige of their present job position in one occupational category, namely "Professional."¹⁸ To test the utility of such a model we would need the following kinds of data:

(a) A sample of college graduates whose training has been in the same professional area, e.g. medicine, law, engineering. The sample should cover at least two separate time periods in order to be able to make some "trend" statement.

(b) Some measure of the social class origins of the graduates at the time they entered college.

(c) A relative prestige ranking of the various job positions within the particular professional occupation being used, e.g. corporation lawyer, criminal lawyer, divorce lawyer; or, surgeon, general practitioner, pediatrician.

(d) The job positions of the graduates at various stages in their professional careers. For example, the job position after graduation, after 10 years, after 20 years, etc., up to the present job position. In this fashion we can control the effect of time upon career mobility patterns.¹⁹

¹⁸ We have focused upon the "Professional" category primarily because the professions have been viewed as examples of "careers open to talent," where advancement is judged by such general criteria as "ability." See, e.g., Morris Rosenberg, *Occupations and Values*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957, p. 54; Patricia Salter West, "Social Mobility Among College Graduates," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Lipset, editors, *Class, Status and Power*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953, p. 473.

¹⁹ The effect of "time" upon career mobility patterns has not always been considered in past mobility research. Rogoff's sample, for example, consisted primarily of persons in the very early

¹⁶ Our formulation here, has some further implications that are related to Merton's discussion of the structural sources of deviant behavior; unlike Merton, however, our concern would be focused upon the latent consequences of a "conformity" mode of adaptation when the cultural rewards are not realized even after the utilization of the appropriate institutionalized means. See Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in *Social Theory and Social Structure*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

¹⁷ Kahl, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

Unfortunately, since the data to be presented in this paper were not collected for the specific purpose of testing the above model, we lack information of the type required for step (d).

PROCEDURE

A sample of engineering graduates from 1911 through 1950 responded to a mailed questionnaire concerning their career patterns since graduation and their opinions on the academic preparation of the engineering student.²⁰ The graduates were grouped into three eras of graduation in order to compare early graduates with more recent ones. The time periods used were 1911 through 1930 graduates, 1931 through 1940 graduates, and 1941 through 1950 graduates. These particular groupings were selected in order to include those years in each era that were somewhat stable with respect to economic conditions of the country. It was assumed that all the graduates in each era would have been subjected to the same general types of problems in job seeking, job selection, and job maintenance.

The social class origin of the engineers was established through the use of the *Sims Social Class Identification Occupational Rating Scale*.²¹ Each respondent checked those occupations listed in the questionnaire which he considered less desirable than his father's occupation at the time the engineer entered college.²² Father's occupations were then

stages of their career, which would eliminate the possibility of getting at those changes which would occur with time.

²⁰ The total population of engineering graduates between 1911 and 1950 was stratified by year of graduation, from which every "nth" graduate was selected; the sampling interval used was varied according to the size of the graduating class in order to insure adequate returns. Of the 5,429 graduates receiving a questionnaire, 3,799 (70.0 per cent) were returned in completed form.

²¹ Verner M. Sims, "A Technique for Measuring Social Class Identification," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, 11 (Winter, 1951), pp. 541-548.

²² The particular method of establishing social class origins used in this study has several shortcomings: (1) a subjective identification and placement of father's occupation provides no information as to what dimension of the occupation the respondent is rating; (2) the respondents were ranking their father's occupation at the time the

grouped into four main categories: (1) professional and semi-professional; (2) clerical and sales; (3) skilled and semi-skilled; and (4) unskilled.

Each respondent was asked to indicate his present work in engineering by selecting a job position, out of a predetermined list, which was most similar to his own job in duties and responsibility. The relative prestige of these job positions within the engineering profession was established by having a sample of engineering faculty members rate each occupation along a prestige dimension. The resulting ranking of positions, in order of increasing prestige, are as follows: design engineer, project engineer, assistant superintendent, district engineer, assistant chief engineer, chief engineer, vice president, president. Table 2 contains the raw data on our sample as to father's occupation, present job position of sons, and era of graduation. Following Rogoff's procedure for controlling any possible changes in the job structure within the engineering profession,²³ the raw data were converted to ratios of the actual cell value to the expected cell value. In this fashion, all cell ratios may be compared regarding whether the son's of fathers who were "professionals" or "unskilled" are under-represented or over-represented in any particular job position. A ratio of "one" indicates that there are as many sons in a particular job position as would be expected if there were no relation between son's job position and father's occupational class position. Similarly, a ratio of "two" would indicate that twice as many sons are found in a particular job position than would be expected if there were no relationship between son's job position and father's occupational class position. Tests of significance were run in order to determine if the number of sons found in any particular job position differed according to the social class origins of the engineers.

graduates entered college, thereby introducing a rather large time discrepancy which may affect the actual status dimension of the occupation; and (3) the impact of time and the socialization process of a college education may affect certain changes in attitudes toward a particular occupation. At any rate, the actual occupations of the fathers would have been more desirable.

²³ Rogoff, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

TABLE 2. PRESENT JOB POSITION OF ENGINEERS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND ERA OF GRADUATION (RAW DATA)

Son's Job Position	Era of Graduation											
	1911-1930 (Time 1)				1931-1940 (Time 2)				1941-1950 (Time 3)			
	Father's Occupation											
	Professional and Semi-Professional	Clerical and Sales	Skilled and Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Professional and Semi-Professional	Clerical and Sales	Skilled and Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Professional and Semi-Professional	Clerical and Sales	Skilled and Semi-Skilled	Unskilled
President and Vice-Pres.	43	34	36	38	54	29	17	23	50	22	24	17
Ass't Chief Eng. and Chief Engineer	32	39	50	36	58	56	49	32	80	61	46	49
Ass't. Supt. and District Eng.	16	13	40	31	49	38	34	19	86	86	50	64
Design Eng. and Project Eng.	14	28	24	24	44	38	49	51	179	170	158	187
No. of Cases	105	114	150	129	205	161	149	125	395	339	278	317

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

An examination of the ratios in Table 3 indicates, first of all, that the sons of fathers of high status occupation are over-represented in high prestige job positions while sons of fathers of low status occupations are under-represented in high prestige job positions. Similarly, sons of fathers of low status occupations are over-represented in low prestige job positions while sons of fathers of high status occupations are under-represented in low prestige job positions. This is true for all three time eras. To determine, however, which time era was more open or closed with respect to a more random distribution of sons in all job positions we must turn to the internal differences in each time era.

Looking at the highest prestige job position in "Time 1" (vice president and president) we see that sons of fathers who were "professionals" are found in significantly greater numbers than sons of fathers who were "skilled," (a_1-c_1). The lowest prestige job position (design engineer and project engineer) finds sons of fathers who were "clerical and sales" in significantly greater numbers than sons of fathers who were "professionals," (a_4-b_4). The most reveal-

ing finding in "Time 1" is that there are no significant differences among the four extreme cells (i.e. a_1-d_1 ; a_4-d_4). The extreme cells, however, are the most important cells theoretically. If class origin is, in fact, significantly related to the job position held by an engineer, we would expect to find its influence in the lowest occupational class. We find in "Time 1," however, that the sons of "professionals" are not differently represented in any job position than the sons of "unskilled" fathers, (a_1-d_1 ; a_2-d_2 ; a_3-d_3 ; a_4-d_4).

Another factor influencing our focus on the four extreme cells is that if, in fact, the occupational class categories do form a rank order of statuses, and if class origins do influence the job position an engineer holds, we would expect to find some internal consistency among the differences observed. For example, if more presidents are sons of "professionals" than they are sons of "clerical and sales," we would also expect more presidents to be sons of "professionals" than sons of "skilled" workers and sons of "unskilled" workers, since "clerical and sales" is a higher rank order occupational class than "skilled" and "unskilled." Since the differences found in "Time 1" do not reveal any internal consistency with respect to occupational class

TABLE 3. RATIO OF ACTUAL ENGINEERS TO EXPECTED ENGINEERS BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION AND ERA OF GRADUATION

Son's Job Position	Era of Graduation											
	1911-1930 (Time 1)				1931-1940 (Time 2)				1941-1950 (Time 3)			
	Father's Occupation											
	Professional and Semi-Prof. (a)	Clerical and Sales (b)	Skilled and Semi-Skilled (c)	Unskilled (d)	Professional and Semi-Prof. (a)	Clerical and Sales (b)	Skilled and Semi-Skilled (c)	Unskilled (d)	Professional and Semi-Prof. (a)	Clerical and Sales (b)	Skilled and Semi-Skilled (c)	Unskilled (d)
	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
President and Vice-Pres. (1)	1.32	.99	.79	.97	1.32	.94	.59	.96	1.43	.76	1.02	.62
Ass't. Chief Eng. and Chief Engineer (2)	.97	1.09	1.06	.88	.93	1.14	1.08	.84	1.13	1.01	.93	.87
Ass't. Supt. and District Eng. (3)	.76	.57	1.33	1.20	1.09	1.08	1.04	.69	.98	1.18	.84	.94
Design Eng. and Project Eng. (4)	.68	1.36	.88	1.03	.75	.83	1.16	1.44	.86	.96	1.13	1.13
Significant Differences:	a ₁ -c ₁ ** a ₂ -c ₂ * b ₂ -c ₂ * b ₂ -d ₂ * a ₄ -b ₄ *				a ₁ -c ₁ ** a ₂ -d ₂ ** b ₂ -d ₂ ** c ₂ -d ₂ **				a ₁ -b ₂ ** a ₁ -d ₁ ** b ₂ -c ₂ * a ₄ -c ₄ ** a ₄ -d ₄ ** b ₂ -d ₄ *			
**=.05												
**=.01												
	Time 1				Time 2				Time 3			

origins we might conclude that those differences found (a_1-c_1 and a_4-b_4) are due to chance variations. Hence the data for "Time 1" graduates closely approximates an "open" structure, i.e., the reward distribution of various job positions are randomly distributed rather than related to class origins.

"Time 2" differences show a tendency toward our criterion of internal consistency in one of the extreme cell combinations. The distribution of sons in the lowest prestige job position (design engineer and project engineer) reveals that the sons of "professionals" are found in significantly fewer numbers than sons of "unskilled," (a_4-d_4); sons of "clerical and sales" are found in significantly fewer numbers than sons of "unskilled" (b_4-d_4); and sons of "skilled" are found in significantly fewer numbers than sons of "unskilled" (c_4-d_4). In the highest prestige job position (vice-president and president) the only difference found (a_1-c_1) is neither an extreme cell difference nor

does it meet the internal consistency criterion. We might conclude, then, that the "Time 2" data reveals a slightly more "closed" opportunity structure than we found in "Time 1."

In "Time 3," we find extreme cell differences in both the highest and lowest prestige job positions, as well as the closest approximation of our ideal internal consistency criterion. The data in this time period indicate a much more "closed" opportunity structure than we found in either of the two previous time periods. That is, the relative prestige of the job position held by our "Time 3" graduates is much more likely to be a function of social economic origins (occupational class of the father) of the engineer than was found in either "Time 1" or "Time 2."

The first and most obvious possible objection to our conclusion that the social structure is more closed in the most recent sample is the fact that the "Time 3" engineers have been in the engineering profession only from

ten to nineteen years, while the "Time 1" graduates have been engineers from thirty to forty-nine years. In other words, given sufficient time in the engineering profession our "Time 3" graduates would appear quite similar to our "Time 1" graduates with respect to holding job positions that are not related to social economic origins. This particular difficulty was pointed out above when we outlined the kinds of data needed to test the proposition embodied in our conception of what an "open" or "closed" structure meant. Since we have no data for our "Time 1" engineers that would indicate their job positions at earlier stages in their career, we have been unable to control the effect of time in the profession upon the job position an engineer holds.

However, we hold to our conclusion concerning a trend toward a more closed structure in view of the following assumption concerning the effect of time upon job position.

We assume that the job positions held by engineers at graduation and in the early stages of their career are most likely to be the result of such general criteria as the needs of the industry and the particular specialized qualifications of the engineer, while particular factors, such as the selection for promotion of those engineers who are from upper and middle class backgrounds, are most likely to be operative at later stages in their careers. We predict that the social economic differences found among our "Time 3" engineers will become greater when they reach the stage in their career that our "Time 1" engineers are in (thirty to forty-nine years in the profession).

Despite the lack of data to test the validity of this assumption, we tentatively conclude that the evidence presented in this paper indicates a possible trend toward rigidity in the American opportunity structure.

A LABORATORY EXPERIMENT ON BUREAUCRATIC AUTHORITY *

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In this experiment an effort is made to separate the rational and legal components of Weber's theory of bureaucratic authority, and to vary the dimension of authority of knowledge while holding authority of office constant. A small part of a fictitious research organization is simulated. Three statuses are activated: project director, coding supervisor, and coder. The hypotheses tested are that (a) if an official holds office without commensurate knowledge, subordinates would not accord legitimacy to the official's authority; (b) the erosion of the supervisor's authority would have negative effects both on the subordinates' performance and on their conformity to technical rules and commands; (c) conformity to administrative rules and commands would not be affected by treatment differences. The results confirmed the relationship between the independent variable and conformity. The relationship with legitimacy was found to be unexpectedly complex. The anticipated relationship with performance was not confirmed.

A SIGNIFICANT recent trend in organization theory is the separation of the dimensions in Weber's construct of bureaucracy. Udy, for example, has recently

obtained illuminating results from a cross-cultural analysis of production organizations

of the experiment. We are also immensely grateful to the following graduate students at Columbia University whose enthusiasm and competence made this experiment possible: Sancti Cohen Michael, project assistant; Koya Azumi, Joan Dulchin, Theodore Ernst, Jerald Hage, Paul Lehrman, John Loffand, John Michael, Jane Mullins, Elaine Rosenbaum Meyer, and Robert Smith. We also wish to

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in which "bureaucratic" properties, such as hierarchy and the existence of an administrative staff, are shown to be independent of "rational" properties of formal organization, such as limited objectives and segmental participation.¹ Similarly, Gouldner has made an effort to separate "rational" from "legal" components of bureaucratic authority in defining the "representative" and the "punishment-centered" types of bureaucracy.² In this paper we report a laboratory experiment intended to contribute to this trend in organization theory.

THE PROBLEM

The *rational* component of bureaucratic authority refers to the use of technical knowledge in the allocation of means to the efficient attainment of ends. "Bureaucratic administration," says Weber, means "the exercise of control on the basis of knowledge. This is the feature of it which makes it specifically rational."³ The *legal* component of authority relates to the normative order which regulates relations among incumbents of a graded system of offices. To ensure impersonal and impartial administration, authority is vested in the office and not in the office-holder. The claims to legitimacy of such an authority system are based on a belief in the validity of the normative order and in the right of the office-holder to issue commands. Thus, Weber's "rational-legal" system of bureaucratic authority may be in-

terpreted as having two dimensions, "the authority of knowledge" and "the authority of office."⁴

As a consequence of his ideal-type method, Weber treated these dimensions as perfectly correlated; bureaucratic authority rests on office, but offices⁵ are filled solely on grounds of merit. Parsons was perhaps the first to point out that the two dimensions of authority are conceptually, and even empirically, independent.⁶ If they are dichotomized and conceived to be independent, four types can be identified. Each type can be illustrated by an empirical case:

- Type 1. The ideal type: the qualified official.
- Type 2. Knowledge without office: the staff specialist in industrial organizations.
- Type 3. Office without knowledge: the "lay" administrator in professional organizations.
- Type 4. Neither office nor knowledge: the "job holder."

Type 2 has received a considerable amount of attention, and its strains are well known.⁷ Conflict would probably be very much greater if organizations did not develop structural arrangements to accommodate to this strain. Barnard, for example, thought that knowledge without office could not command obedience; but it could exercise influence through institutionalized advisory relations.⁸ Thus the staff-line arrangement may be an accommodation which actually reduces the degree of disruption inherent in having members in an organization who have knowledge without office.

thank Morton Deutsch and Stanley H. Udy, Jr. for especially helpful comments on the manuscript. For a discussion of the methodological aspects of this experiment, see Morris Zelditch, Jr. and William M. Evan, "Simulated Bureaucracies: A Methodological Analysis," in Harold Guetzkow, editor, *Simulation of Social Systems*, Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, 1962.

¹ Stanley H. Udy, Jr., "Bureaucracy' and 'Rationality' in Weber's Organization Theory: An Empirical Study," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (December, 1959), pp. 791-795.

² Alvin W. Gouldner, *Patterns of Industrial Bureaucracy*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954, pp. 19-24; see also "Organizational Analysis," in Robert K. Merton, Leonard Broom and Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., editors, *Sociology Today*, New York: Basic Books, 1959, pp. 402-403 and 413-417.

³ A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, editors, *Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1947, p. 339.

⁴ Authority of office also entails a body of experience and knowledge of a non-technical character which is distinguishable from authority of knowledge. Administrative knowledge, as it may be called, includes not only "official secrets" but access to information about rules and policy decisions which is generally confined to certain categories of statuses in an organization.

⁵ "Office" is used as an abbreviation of "authority of office" and "an office" is used for a status in an organization which has authority of office. Note that some statuses in an organization do not have office, hence the term is not synonymous with "status."

⁶ Henderson and Parsons, *op. cit.*, "Introduction" by Talcott Parsons, pp. 58-60, note 4.

⁷ Cf. Melville Dalton, "Conflicts between Staff and Line Managerial Officers," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (June, 1950), pp. 342-351.

⁸ Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. 174-175.

Type 3, although perhaps not as well understood, is also very common. In hospitals, for example, authority is frequently in the hands of persons with either equal or less knowledge than those over whom it is exercised. The accommodation may be very similar to that known for Type 2. Goss reports that the staff in a large teaching and research hospital distinguishes between problems of administration and problems of a technical nature. With respect to the former, superiors may give commands and they will be obeyed; with respect to the latter they may give only advice.⁹

In the experiment reported here the problem of office without knowledge is investigated in an artificial professional bureaucracy which is not permitted the accommodations observed in natural situations. The knowledge differential between supervisors and subordinates is varied, office remaining constant. The effects predicted are probably consistent with Weber's analysis and also with Barnard's.¹⁰ The effects examined are: (a) the performance of subordinates; (b) the beliefs of subordinates regarding the legitimacy of their superior's authority; (c) the conformity of subordinates to the rules of the organization and to the commands of their superiors. The first two dependent variables are explicitly considered by Weber; the third is implicitly recognized as an organizational problem. We expect all three variables to be negatively affected by office without knowledge, and we expect legitimacy—the willingness of subordinates to accept the authority of their superiors as valid—to play the role of an intervening variable. We also hypothesize that subordinates will discriminate among the commands of their superiors, considering some of these actions to be primarily *administrative* and others to be primarily *technical*. The negative effects of office

without knowledge should be confined to the latter.

DESIGN OF THE EXPERIMENT

In designing this experiment we attempted to simulate some features of an actual organization. Although we used college students as subjects, we did not recruit them in their role as students or as experimental subjects. Instead, we "hired" 45 students as part-time employees, at the rate of \$1.25 an hour, to code the face sheet of a questionnaire supposedly distributed nationally by a fictitious survey organization called *National Social Surveys, Inc.* The knowledge differential between superordinate and subordinate was manipulated by varying the responses of coding supervisors to questions asked by the subjects. To make sure that some questions were asked, a set of "traps" was created; that is, subjects were given a code book that did not provide the solution to certain coding problems. Coders were told that in such cases the decision was the responsibility of the coding supervisor whom they never saw but with whom they could communicate by telephone. Communication with supervisors was mediated by telephone for two reasons: (a) to simulate one of the features of an organization which distinguish it from a small group;¹¹ and (b) to avoid contaminating the experimental variable of knowledge differential with other variables such as the supervisor's personality or his other statuses, for example, ethnic, religious, racial, etc.

An effort was made to reduce the number of calls that concerned matters other than the trap questions in order to have a uniform administration of the experimental stimulus. A pretest indicated how to avoid many such calls, but they were not entirely eliminated. Coding supervisors were given a standard set of responses to each trap, varying for each treatment, and a general set of instructions for dealing with other calls, which also varied with each treatment.

The sequence of the experiment may be divided into three time periods which we may

⁹ Mary E. W. Goss, *Physicians in Bureaucracy: A Case Study of Professional Pressures on Organizational Roles*, Columbia University: Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation, 1959. See also William M. Evan, "Some Consequences of a Discrepant Authority Relationship," *Proceedings and Summaries of the 23rd Annual Meeting, New York State Psychological Association*, (May, 1960), pp. 32-34.

¹⁰ See Barnard, *op. cit.*, and "Functions and Pathology of Status Systems in Formal Organizations," in W. F. Whyte, editor, *Industry and Society*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946.

¹¹ Cf. Harold Guetzkow and Anne E. Bowes, "The Development of Organizations in a Laboratory," *Management Science*, 3 (July, 1957), pp. 380-381.

label t_0 , t_1 and t_2 . In t_0 three coders at a time were instructed by one of the experimenters, identified as the project director, in both the practice of coding and in the rules of the organization. The introductory statement describing the organization emphasized the professional and non-profit nature of the organization, and the importance of avoiding DK's and NA's. It read, in part, as follows:

National Social Surveys, Inc. is a non-profit research organization sponsored by several universities. It is dedicated to the discovery of scientific knowledge about human behavior, principally through the use of sample surveys. To realize this objective, it takes great pains to recruit personnel who will conduct research of the highest caliber. All personnel of the organization, whether directors of projects, coding supervisors, or coders, are expected to perform their work in accordance with traditional scientific standards of objectivity, accuracy, and integrity. Imagination as well as meticulousness are requirements of scientific research.

As a coder for National Social Surveys, you perform operations which are of critical importance for the conduct of a research project. Errors in coding diminish the validity of the data which have been collected with great care and at a great cost. To avoid errors, *please read the following coding and operating instructions carefully.*

The experimenter also stressed calling the supervisor if difficulty was encountered. This instruction period, in which each subject also practiced coding, took about one-half hour. At the end, the subject was given a code book, a statement of the organization's rules, a batch of questionnaires to code, code sheets, and time sheets on which to keep a record of his work.

The three subjects were then taken to separate rooms. It was explained that efficiency was greater if each coder worked independently. We did this to eliminate the effects of group interaction among subjects. However, in each room there was an observer to record spontaneous comments and non-verbal behavior of the subjects. The observer, if he was asked, said he was working on a different project and knew nothing about the project on which the subjects were working. His behavior was unobtrusive and he was not recognized as an observer.

In t_1 all subjects were exposed to technically competent supervisors for about 45

minutes. The supervisors were confederates of the experimenters. This period had several functions: it permitted the coder to establish a standard of comparison where otherwise he might not be able to discriminate incompetent responses; it increased the homogeneity of the subjects by giving them at least some common prior experience with the organization; and finally, in order to reduce heterogeneity due to differences in intelligence and personality differences such as degree of authoritarianism, which we were unable to measure before allocation of treatments to subjects, we wanted repeated measurements on the same individuals.

The beginning of t_2 was signalled when the supervisor called the coder, announced that he had to leave, and assigned him to another supervisor on another extension. The supervisors were then rotated among subjects to control for variations in the personalities of the confederates. At the same time, a messenger brought a new batch of questionnaires to ensure that all subjects started t_2 with the same task. The allocation of both confederates and treatments was random, yielding a randomized complete blocks design in which the confederates in the role of second supervisor are the blocks.

The independent variable was translated into three experimental treatments: exposure to a superior-knowledge supervisor, to an equal-knowledge supervisor, and to an inferior-knowledge supervisor. In the superior-knowledge treatment the coding supervisor exhibited special resources and special knowledge of his job; he invariably replied to the coder's questions with a rational and occasionally a technical justification for his decision. In the equal-knowledge treatment the coding supervisor exhibited about as much knowledge as the coder himself had by that time: the supervisor sometimes indicated this by asking the coder what he thought and by arriving at a decision with the aid of the code book, thus evidencing no resources superior to those of the coder. In the inferior-knowledge treatment the supervisor always said he was uncertain and advised the coder to code the problematic item "no answer."¹²

¹² We intended to have 15 subjects in each treatment; the actual distribution of subjects is 15 in the superior-knowledge treatment, 14 in the equal-

In addition to their responses to trap-items, which constitute technical orders, the supervisors in each period gave certain administrative orders, common to all treatments, concerning the signing of code sheets and the keeping of time sheets.

After the 45 minutes of t_2 elapsed, coders were visited by interviewers who identified themselves as representatives of a management research organization studying *National Social Surveys, Inc.* The interviewer asked questions designed to obtain evaluations of the supervisors, perceptions of incorrect decisions, the grounds for obeying such decisions, and beliefs regarding the right of the supervisors to hold their jobs and their right to expect obedience. The interviewer then explained the experiment to the subject. All but three of the subjects responded to the explanation in good humor. These three, and others who were really in need of a part-time job and were disappointed to learn that it was an experiment, were placed on actual coding jobs on other projects. In designing the experiment, we were mindful of the ethical problems involved and took precautions to minimize the chances of any harmful effects on the subjects.

The experiment was completed in three days during the Easter vacation in order to reduce contamination from interaction of students. Subjects were instructed not to talk about the experiment until they returned to school.

RESULTS

Validation of the Independent Variable.

Despite some success during the pretest, we were concerned that the independent variable might not be induced. The equal-knowledge treatment appeared particularly difficult to discriminate from the inferior-knowledge treatment, and it was not clear how much effect the personality of the supervisor would have on heterogeneity within treatment. To validate the independent variable we used several items of information: how the coders evaluated the t_2 supervisors compared to the t_1 supervisors on a 10-point scale of technical competence; how they evaluated themselves compared to both their supervisors on the same scale; how many of their supervisors'

knowledge treatment, and 16 in the inferior-knowledge treatment.

decisions they perceived as wrong; and how they spontaneously reacted during the trial as recorded by the observers.

On all four indicators the inferior and superior levels of knowledge were clearly differentiated (see Table 1). The equal level of knowledge, however, does not fall halfway between the inferior and superior levels. On three of the four indicators it is differentiated from the inferior and superior levels sufficiently to consider it a separate treatment, but it is consistently closer to the inferior level of knowledge than to the superior level. Nor can the equal-knowledge treatment be accurately thought of as "equal"; subjects in this treatment see themselves as 1.5 points *more* competent than their second supervisors.

Despite these difficulties with the equal level of knowledge, all treatment differences, with the exception of spontaneous gestures and comments, are statistically significant. This indicates that the treatments differentiated among subjects. No block differences are significant, indicating that supervisors played their roles well enough to eliminate effects of their own personalities. And no interaction effects are significant, indicating that supervisors played all roles equally well so that no particular supervisor combined with any particular knowledge-level had some effect not predictable from the main effects of the experiment.

Performance. We expected that performance would be differentiated by treatment; we found that it was not. We used two measures of performance. First, we measured the coder's rate of speed. The amount of time actually spent coding, after subtracting the time spent on telephone calls to the supervisors, was divided by the number of questionnaires completed for each time period. We then subtracted the rate in t_2 from the rate in t_1 , yielding a measure of the increasing rate of speed of the coder between the two periods. There was no difference by either treatment or block. Second, we measured the per cent of "non-trap" items that were coded incorrectly in the two coding periods, subtracting the rate in the first period from the rate in the second period. This yields a measure of increasing error from t_1 to t_2 . Here also there were no treatment or block differences.

TABLE 1. VALIDATION OF THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

Indicator	Treatment: Second Supervisor's Level of Knowledge*			Mood-Brown Analysis of Variance ¹³		
	Inferior	Equal	Superior	Treatment χ^2	df	P
Wrong decisions perceived:						
Increase in number	2.0	1.6	-0.3	16.88	2	<.01
Evaluation of 1st and 2nd supervisors:						
Mean difference	5.0	3.3	0.2	22.13	2	<.01
Evaluation of self and 2nd supervisor:						
Mean difference	2.7	1.5	-3.2	20.06	2	<.01
Spontaneous negative comments:						
Increase in number	10	8	3	3.72**	2	.10 < P < .20

* Block means, block χ^2 , and the χ^2 for interaction are not shown. No block or interaction effects were significant.

** Significance computed by a straightforward χ^2 rather than by Mood-Brown analysis of variance.

We were, of course, surprised by the lack of performance results, despite the fact that a number of experiments with organizational variables find equally little result in the area of performance.¹⁴ We first checked our randomization, thinking that more intelligent subjects might have been assigned to the inferior-knowledge treatment, counteracting the treatment effects. But the tendency, although

not statistically significant, is actually for them to be in the superior-knowledge treatment. We then thought that the nature of the task was such that more intelligent subjects would be more adversely affected by its routine character than the less intelligent subjects. But the correlation of ability—indicated by verbal and mathematical scores on the College Entrance Board Examination—with the distribution of performance differences is almost exactly zero.

Other possibilities suggest themselves. First, there simply may not have been enough time for performance effects to show themselves. Second, performance of such a routine task, with such limited variation in its time-and-motion aspects, may have been an insensitive indicator of treatment effects. Third, it is quite possible that the negative findings are real. The market situation of the "employees" of this particular "organization" may have led them to perform as well as possible, independently of their reactions to their supervisors. They were interested in short-run job opportunities, did not have quickly-marketable skills in other labor markets, and possibly regarded their initial performance as a "test" on which subsequent employment was contingent. The result might have been like that described by Goode and Fowler, who found that productivity in a feeder plant which employed primarily handicapped, non-unionized workers was independent of morale. Workers could be easily fired, found it difficult to get

¹³ Almost all of the distributions in this experiment are markedly platykurtic, which led us to use nonparametric methods throughout. Kurtosis affects particularly the power of the parametric test. See, for example, A. B. L. Srivastava, "The Effect of Nonnormality on the Power of the Analysis of Variance Test," *Biometrika*, 46 (June, 1959), pp. 114-122. The Mood-Brown two-way analysis of variance, based on median tests, was used for the following reasons: (1) for cell sizes greater than two it is distribution-free; (2) it is not disturbed by unequal cell sizes; (3) the more familiar Friedman two-way analysis of variance by ranks demands too great a cost in degrees of freedom; and (4) the interpretation of interaction effects in the Friedman test is disturbed by more than one observation per cell. See G. W. Brown, and A. M. Mood, "On Median Tests for Linear Hypotheses," in J. Neyman, editor, *Second Berkeley Symposium on Mathematical Statistics and Probability*, Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1951; A. M. Mood, *Introduction to the Theory of Statistics*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1950, pp. 402-406; and M. W. Tate and R. C. Clellands, *Nonparametric and Short-cut Statistics*, Danville, Ill.: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1957, pp. 115-129.

¹⁴ Guetzkow and Bowes, *op. cit.*, p. 393; see also Harold Guetzkow and William R. Dill, "Factors in the Organizational Development of Task-Oriented Groups," *Sociometry*, 20 (September, 1957), p. 179.

TABLE 2. CONFORMITY: MEAN DECREASE IN "TRAP" CALLS,* MEAN INCREASE IN ERROR,** AND MEAN INCREASE IN DISOBEDIENCE***

Conformity	Treatment: Second Supervisor's Level of Knowledge****			Mood-Brown Analysis of Variance		
	Inferior	Equal	Superior	Treatment χ^2	df	P
Mean decrease in "trap" calls	-.26	-.21	-.15	5.69	6	.30 < P < .50
Mean increase in "trap" error	2.50	1.36	1.53	10.81	2	P < .01
Mean increase in disobedience	1.25	0.57	0.00	8.31	2	.01 < P < .02

* Decrease in trap calls is measured by subtracting the per cent of items on which the coder telephones the supervisor in the second coding period from the per cent on which he telephones in the first coding period. The base of the percentage is the number of trap-items on which it was possible for the coder to telephone; the base was adjusted for individuals who did not complete a sufficient number of questionnaires to code all trap-items.

** Non-conformity is measured here by subtracting the number of trap-errors in the first coding period from the number in the second.

*** If, on a given trap-item, a subject telephoned his supervisor, was instructed how to code an item, but then made an error of any kind in coding that item, the error was defined as disobedience to the supervisor's instructions. The number of acts of disobedience in the first period was subtracted from the number in the second.

**** To save space, block means, block χ^2 and interaction χ^2 are omitted. No block or interaction effects were significant.

other jobs, and consequently produced at a high level of efficiency despite low morale.¹⁵

Conformity to Technical Rules and Commands. The most important technical rule of the organization concerned telephoning the supervisor when a coding problem was encountered. We had expected that subjects in the inferior- and equal-knowledge treatments would be more likely to violate this rule than those in the superior treatment. There was, in fact, a tendency in all three groups to telephone the supervisor less in t_2 than in t_1 . But, while the drop-off rate in the inferior treatment is more rapid than the drop-off rate in the superior treatment, the treatments are not significantly different in this respect (see Table 2). Otherwise, our expectations concerning technical rules and orders were generally confirmed.

Our most marked result in the area of non-conformity was in the "trap-error" rates. By a "trap-error" we mean coding errors on trap-items only. The three treatments differ significantly in the number of trap-errors made, i.e., in the number of acts of non-conformity (see Table 2). This effect appears to be due to three distinct factors. First, there

is some tendency for subjects in the inferior treatment to telephone less often, and thus to discover the correct response less often, even though this tendency is not statistically significant. Those who guess at the code and do not telephone very often guess incorrectly. Second, there is some tendency for subjects actually to disobey the instructions of their supervisor in the inferior treatment and to guess at an answer rather than code it NA. We will call this overt or active disobedience. Third, and most important, there is a distinct tendency to passive or covert disobedience; many subjects, told to code a response NA, manage to code NA incorrectly or fail to code the item at all.¹⁶ Covert disobedience accounts for most of the disobedience that occurs. There are, in all treatments combined, 59 acts of disobedience—that is, instances in which the subject telephones his supervisor, is instructed by the supervisor,

¹⁶ This is rather difficult to detect after the fact, but not impossible. For example, in one trap-item occupational skill-level and prestige are to be coded for an occupation that does not appear listed in the code book. The inferior-knowledge supervisor instructs the coder to code it DK, which is a 9 in column 4 and an X in column 5. Many subjects in this treatment make the error of coding either 9 only or X only, or code 9XX, there being a vacant space in column 6. These are called errors but they are hardly direct acts of disobedience.

¹⁵ William J. Goode and Irving Fowler, "Incentive Factors in a Low Morale Plant," *American Sociological Review*, 14 (October, 1949), pp. 619-624.

and then makes a trap-error. Only twenty-seven per cent of these instances are overt acts of disobedience; i.e., instances in which the error is due to the subjects apparently attempting to violate directly the supervisor's instruction. Covert and overt non-conformity combined differ significantly by treatment (see Table 2).

Conformity to Administrative Rules and Commands. Concerning administrative rules and commands, we had expected that there would be no differences in conformity by treatment. By and large this expectation was borne out. In the coding-instruction period subjects were told to sign their full names on each code sheet after completion of each questionnaire. In the middle of t_2 the second supervisor changed this rule, prescribing initials in the place of full signatures. Subjects were also directed by the coding-instructor (who was identified as the project director, it will be recalled) to record the time, on time sheets, after every 10 completed questionnaires. The second-period supervisor changed this rule to every five minutes. A third administrative rule remained constant throughout; this was an instruction to draw a line through errors and re-code correctly on the same code sheet, never erasing or destroying code sheets.

With respect to two of these indicators, the results are clear-cut; with respect to the third, the results are in the same direction but the data are unreliable. There are no treatment differences in conformity to the signature order; nor is erasing of errors on code sheets differentiated by treatment. The time sheet data are inconclusive because the recording by both subjects and observers was sufficiently unclear that reliable coding of the results was not possible.

These negative results, as in the case of the performance results, may be due to the brief time of the trials rather than to the true absence of treatment effects.

Legitimacy of Technical Commands. The process of legitimation is complex and as yet little understood. We had intended to avoid the difficult question of how it operates by measuring only its end-product, legitimacy of the supervisor's authority—that is, belief in the obligation to obey his commands. But regardless of what subjects thought of their supervisors, in post-session interviews virtu-

ally no one questioned the supervisor's right to expect obedience to his commands even where subjects said they thought the decisions embodied in these commands were wrong.

This result made conclusive analysis of the process intervening between treatments and effects almost impossible. First, since no attempt had been made before the experiment to conceptualize the legitimation process, very few indicators of it were available for analysis. Those that were available were in some respects contaminated. Second, because components of the legitimation process had not been intentionally manipulated, a complete set of replicates for all appropriate contrasts could not be obtained with the available results. Third, the hypotheses which would guide such an analysis were in danger of being both result-guided and *ad hoc*.

Yet some of the post-session interview responses did yield clues to the operation of this process, and we made an effort to trace the intervening process as far as the data permitted. To guard against result-guided, *ad hoc* interpretation, new hypotheses were grounded as far as possible in the original conceptualization of the experiment.

At least three components of the process of legitimation are probably at work in the experiment. One is the subject's judgment that the supervisor has authority of office. While we have no indicator of this judgment, there were no differences in this variable incorporated into treatments and there should be no effects due to it. A second component is the subject's judgment that the supervisor has authority of knowledge. This is indicated by a post-session question in which subjects were asked, for each supervisor, if the supervisor had a right to his job. A third component is the subject's conception of the basis on which legitimacy should be accorded in this particular type of organization. This would include, for example, their views regarding the relative importance of knowledge vs. office as a basis of legitimacy. This is indicated by the reasons subjects gave for their feeling an obligation to obey.

As one would expect, feelings about the supervisor's right to his job were sharply differentiated by treatment (see Table 3). Quite unexpectedly, the basis on which legitimacy was granted also differed by treatment.

TABLE 3. CHANGES IN CONCEPTIONS OF LEGITIMACY: SUBJECTS' JUDGMENT OF RIGHT TO JOB OF FIRST AND SECOND SUPERVISORS

Subjects' Judgment of Right to Job		Treatment: Second Supervisor's Level of Knowledge			Total
of 1st Sup.	of 2nd Sup.	Inferior	Equal	Superior	
		(N=16)	(N=14)	(N=15)	(N=45)
Yes	Yes	13%	36%	67%	38%
Yes	Qual. Yes, No	81%	43%	7%	44%
Qual. Yes, No	Qual. Yes, No	..	..	13%	4%
	Any NA	6%	21%	13%	13%
Total		100%	100%	100%	99%

$\chi^2=15.53$; $df=2$; $P<.001$.

χ^2 was computed after removing rows 3 and 4.

Qual. Yes=Qualified Yes.

Responses to interviewer probes into the obligation to obey were classified as: (1) *bureaucratic*, if subjects stressed legal obligations of their status ("I was hired to obey," or "It's his job to give orders") or bureaucratic principles of organization ("Organizations must have hierarchies"); (2) *professional*, if subjects stressed expertise of the supervisor ("The supervisor knows more about it") or the scientific goals of the survey ("uniform categories and consistent decisions ensure valid results"); and (3) *mixed* responses, if subjects mentioned both. The instructions during coder-training had clearly stressed the professional goal of the organization. But the treatments shifted the basis on which subjects accorded legitimacy from "professional" to "bureaucratic" grounds

(see Table 4). Only 2 per cent of those who obeyed the first supervisor on "bureaucratic" grounds changed in response to the second supervisor, but there was a marked shift of those who obeyed the first supervisor on "professional" grounds if they were subjected to the inferior- or equal-knowledge treatment.

The way in which these two components of the legitimation process interacted is difficult to discern in the experiment because shifts in "right to office" responses were associated with shifts in "basis of legitimacy" responses. The two were completely independent in the initial period of the experiment ($\phi = .06$, $\chi^2 = 0.17$, $.50 < P < .70$), but in t_2 there was a marked increase in their association ($\phi = .44$, $\chi^2 = 4.63$,

TABLE 4. CHANGES IN CONCEPTIONS OF LEGITIMACY: SUBJECTS' GROUNDS FOR BELIEF IN LEGITIMACY OF FIRST AND SECOND SUPERVISORS

Subjects' Grounds for Legitimation		Treatment: Second Supervisor's Level of Knowledge			Total
of 1st Sup.	of 2nd Sup.	Inferior	Equal	Superior	
		(N=16)	(N=14)	(N=15)	(N=45)
P, M	P, M	12%	..	47%	20%
P, M	Bur.	38%	36%	7%	27%
Bur.	P, M	..	..	7%	2%
Bur.	Bur.	38%	36%	12%	29%
	Any NA	12%	28%	27%	22%
Total		100%	100%	100%	100%

$\chi^2=14.80$; $df=4$; $.01 < P < .001$.

χ^2 was computed after removing rows 3 and 5.

P=Professional, Bur.=Bureaucratic, M=Mixed.

.02 < P < .05). This association was brought about by two kinds of shifts: (1) subjects who gave "bureaucratic" responses in t_1 and felt the first supervisor had a right to his job were likely to remain "bureaucratic" and feel the second supervisor did *not* have a right to his job if they received the inferior- or equal-knowledge treatment; (2) subjects who gave "professional" or "mixed" responses in t_1 and felt the supervisor had a right to his job were likely to change both responses if they received the inferior- or equal-knowledge treatment.

That "right to job" responses did act as an intervening variable in the experiment is evident from their relation to conformity. Shifts on this item from "yes" in t_1 to "qualified yes" or "no" in t_2 were significantly related to increases in disobedience. This effect was independent of any effects due to shifts in the "basis of legitimacy." Among those who did not shift the basis on which they granted legitimacy, subjects who shifted "right to job" response, compared with subjects who did not, had a significantly higher increase in disobedience ($H = 3.88$; .02 < P < .05).¹⁷ There were very few subjects who shifted the basis on which they granted legitimacy and at the same time remained constant in "right to job" response. It is therefore impossible to say how this variable would operate independently. But it is possible to examine its interaction effects. Our conjecture was that shifts in basis of according legitimacy would dampen the effects of shifts in "right to job," since authority of office would replace authority of knowledge as the more important criterion for granting legitimacy. There was no difference, however, between those who shifted on both variables and those who shifted only "right to job" responses ($H = 0$).

Legitimacy of Administrative Rules and Commands. The post-session interview probed into beliefs regarding legitimacy of

administrative rules and commands as well as into beliefs regarding legitimacy of technical commands. As we had anticipated, there was no difference in beliefs regarding legitimacy of administrative rules and commands by treatment. Almost all subjects felt obliged to obey a supervisor's decisions about administrative matters, just as they had about technical matters. Unlike the case of technical commands, however, the grounds for legitimacy also were not differentiated by treatment. Subjects generally advanced "bureaucratic" rather than "professional" justifications for obeying administrative rules and commands.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of the present experiment is to separate the *rational* and *legal* components of Weber's theory of bureaucratic authority, and to vary the dimension of authority of knowledge while holding authority of office constant. Hypotheses concerning the effects of variations in authority of knowledge on performance, conformity, and legitimacy are suggested by Weber's theory.

In order to separate systematically the two dimensions under controlled conditions, and also to observe systematically instances in which officials without knowledge gave technical as well as administrative commands, a small part of a fictitious research organization was simulated. Three statuses in this organization were activated: a project director, a status occupied by one of the experimenters who appeared only during a training session; a coding supervisor, a status occupied by confederates of the experimenters; and a coder, a status occupied by naive subjects, hired at \$1.25 an hour for what they thought were real jobs. The main operative unit of the organization was the supervisor-coder relationship. Other parts of the organization were simulated by occasional inputs to this unit, and beliefs about the organization were manipulated by information given in the instruction period. The organization was "professional" in its goals, but clearly the subjects were not themselves professionals nor oriented to careers in this organization, despite efforts to induce a professional attitude in the instruction period.

¹⁷ Where only one-way analysis of variance was required, the Kruskal-Wallis H-test was used. See W. H. Kruskal and W. A. Wallis, "The Use of Ranks in One-criterion Variance Analysis," *Journal of American Statistical Association*, 47 (December, 1952), pp. 583-621; and the very convenient description in S. Siegel, *Nonparametric Statistics for the Behavioral Sciences*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956, pp. 184-193.

Various extraneous sources of variation were eliminated by (1) a before-after design, to remove effects of individual differences in subjects; and (2) extreme simplification of the organizational context—e.g., communication by telephone only, elimination of interaction between subordinates—to eliminate contaminating organizational processes.

The independent variable was manipulated by varying supervisors' responses to requests for decisions made by subjects who were faced with "traps" in the coding process. "Traps" were built into the task by presenting coding situations for which no solutions were provided in instructions in the code book.

We hypothesized that (a) if an official held office without commensurate knowledge, subjects would not accord legitimacy to the official's authority; (b) that this erosion of the supervisor's authority would have negative effects both on the subordinates' performance and on their conformity to technical rules and commands; (c) but that conformity to administrative rules and commands would not be affected by treatment differences.

The following results were actually obtained:

(1) The treatments did not differentiate performance measures.

(2) Marked treatment differences appeared in rates of conformity to technical commands, particularly in "covert" non-conformity.

(3) Treatment differences in rates of conformity were accounted for in part by shifts in the belief that the supervisor had a right to occupy his office.

(4) The treatments induced subjects to change the grounds appropriate to defining legitimate authority in such an organization. Subjects in inferior- and equal-knowledge treatments were likely to shift from "professional" to "bureaucratic" bases of legitimacy.

(5) Almost all subjects, regardless of treatment, felt obligated to obey commands

of their supervisor, even though for different reasons.

(6) No treatment effects were observed in either conformity to, or in beliefs regarding legitimacy of, administrative rules and commands.

As for the significance of the experiment: many important questions are suggested simply by observing that both office without knowledge and knowledge without office empirically occur. For example, what are the consequences of these combinations of office and knowledge for different kinds of organizations? Under what conditions does one occur rather than the other? What are the possible variations in the structural arrangements through which organizations accommodate to discrepant combinations of office and knowledge? These questions presuppose that discrepant combinations of office and knowledge will pose a "problem" in the absence of certain kinds of socially-structured accommodations. In general, our experiment seems to confirm this proposition, which suggests that the questions based on it are meaningful and are likely to provide fruitful lines of inquiry.

Organizational experiments,¹⁸ such as the one presented here, obviously need not be confined to authority problems, critical as these are for any organization. They can also revolve around problems of division of labor, types of rewards, reward differentials, or any of a large number of other organizational variables. It seems to us likely that if experimental sociologists succeed in designing theoretically-significant simulations of organizational structures and organizational processes, they will considerably accelerate progress in a field already developing rapidly.

¹⁸ For examples of noteworthy organizational experiments, see Donald F. Clark and Russell L. Ackoff, "A Report on Some Organizational Experiments," *Operations Research*, 7 (May-June, 1959), pp. 279-293; C. West Churchman and Philburn Ratoosh, "Innovation in Group Behavior," *Management Science Nucleus*, Working Paper No. 10 (January, 1960), dittoed.

LIFE-CYCLE, CAREER PATTERN, AND THE DECISION TO MOVE *

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Explanation is sought, in life-cycle and career pattern theories, of the decision to move. Survey data supporting the utility of the career pattern approach are presented and inconsistencies among existing studies are interpreted as reflecting differences in the populations studied. A paradigm based upon "life-cycle stage" and "vertical mobility potential" is used to develop a model for further research. The decision to move is seen as a function of these two variables, with complaints about the present dwelling appearing as an intervening variable.

THE analysis of urban residential mobility is not new.¹ As a phenomenon involving peculiar convergence of social structure with demographic and social psychological influence, however, it is of broad theoretical significance and of considerable research interest.² As "urban residential mobility," we shall treat here, not upward social mobility nor urban migration rates but the process whereby families and individuals change their places of residence. Explanation will be sought in two contrasting

approaches—life-cycle and career pattern—for the decision to move.

LIFE-CYCLE ANALYSIS

It is reasonably well established that residential mobility is high among young families and declines with increased age of the household head.³ In 1950, the mobility rate was twice as high in families where the head was under 35 years of age as in those where he was from 35–44 years old and five times higher than where he had reached age 65.⁴ The high mobility rates for young persons presumably reflect new marriages, families expanding with the birth of children, and moves associated with the husband's employment. Each of these factors operates with less force at older ages. Thus, viewed in terms of migration rates, residential mobility appears to be associated with the expansion stage of the family life-cycle.

A major attempt to explain individual household mobility in terms of life-cycle appeared in Rossi's, *Why Families Move*.⁵ Rossi sampled four Philadelphia census tracts, selected to represent areas of high and low mobility rates and high and low socioeconomic status, to: (a) illustrate the application of modern survey research to the study of residential mobility; and (b) draw generalizations concerning the social psychology of residential mobility.⁶ Rossi af-

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¹ Among the earlier studies are William Albig, "The Mobility of Urban Population," *Social Forces*, 11 (March, 1933), pp. 351–367; Donald O. Cowgill, "Residential Mobility of an Urban Population," Master's Thesis, Washington University, St. Louis, 1936; Charles E. Lively, "Spatial and Occupational Changes of Particular Significance to the Student of Population Mobility," *Social Forces*, 15 (March, 1937), pp. 351–355; Andrew W. Lind, *A Study of Mobility of Population in Seattle*, Seattle: The University of Washington Publications in Social Sciences, 3 (October, 1925); and Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood*, Los Angeles: The University of Southern California, 1929.

² Sidney Goldstein, *Patterns of Mobility, 1910–1950; The Norristown Study*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958); Arthur H. Richardson, "The Prediction of Household Mobility from an Urban Subdivision," Ph.D. Dissertation, Purdue University, 1958; and Peter H. Rossi, *Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1955.

³ Paul C. Glick, *American Families*, New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1957, p. 89. Data from 1950 Census of Population, Vol. IV, Special Reports, Part 2, Chapter A, General Characteristics of Families, Table 15.

⁴ Glick, *op. cit.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

firmed that his study design could not serve both aims with equal efficiency and emphasized the application of survey research to the discovery of causal factors in residential mobility. However, he concluded that his "empirical generalizations are so strongly supported in the data that they are almost certain to hold up in subsequent researches."⁷

Rossi's analysis focussed upon mobility patterns in each of the four residential areas, upon household mobility, and upon the factors entering into the individual decisions to move. Household mobility was defined in terms of desires and plans for moving: mobile households were considered to be those who were anxious to move and who planned to do so while stable households were defined as those who expressed no inclination to move.⁸ The major characteristics that were found to differentiate mobile from stable households were variables closely related to the family life-cycle. Thus, large families were more prone to move than were small ones, the younger the household head the more likely the family was to move, and renters—particularly those who desired to own—were more likely to move than were owners.⁹ Mobile households also differed from stable ones in the frequency of the complaints they expressed about the dwelling and the neighborhood.¹⁰ Two arbitrary indexes, the Mobility Potential Index (composed of age, household size, and tenure preference) and the Complaints Index, were found to correlate well with mobility inclinations but not too highly with one another. The two indexes, combined, permitted ap-

proximately 75 per cent accuracy in the prediction of mobility inclinations.¹¹

The decision to move was seen as a function of various "pushes" from the original dwelling and various "pulls" toward the new one.¹² About one-fourth of the moves were involuntary—the result of evictions and destructions, or accompaniments of other decisions such as to marry, to divorce, or to take a job in a distant location. Among the voluntary moves, dissatisfaction with the amount of space in the dwelling was the most important factor; then came dissatisfaction with the neighborhood and the costs associated with the present dwelling. The most important feature of the new dwelling sought was its size. When two dwellings of equal size were available, the cheaper one generally was chosen.

Rossi concluded that the major function of residential mobility is to enable families to "adjust their housing to the housing needs that are generated by the shifts in family composition that accompany life-cycle changes."¹³

CAREER PATTERN ANALYSIS

Several early studies showed a general association between migration and upward vertical mobility.¹⁴ These early works failed to compare the amount of upward mobility experienced by migrants and non-migrants and were succeeded, in a sense, by Hobbs' analysis of migration in an economically depressed region. He found that the relationship held even when a control group was used.¹⁵ However, Hobbs' conclusion that "migrants are superior to non-migrants in those characteristics necessary for socio-economic occupational success,"¹⁶ has not been systematically tested in further research.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ The correspondence between moving inclinations and actual mobility experience was tested by returning to the 924 households eight months after the initial interviews to see whether the dwellings were still occupied by the original respondents. The respondents had been asked to predict their own behavior over a ten month period. Of those who definitely planned to remain in their present homes, 96 per cent did so. Eighty per cent of those definitely planning to move did so, and of those who gave themselves an even chance to move or stay, 26 per cent moved. This evidence was regarded as justifying the use of mobility intentions to stand for actual mobility behavior. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-107.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 68-71.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-85.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

¹⁴ C. J. Galpin, *Analysis of Migration of Population to and from Farms*, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, Washington, D.C., 1927; Carle C. Zimmerman, "The Migration to Towns and Cities, II," *American Journal of Sociology*, 33 (September, 1927), pp. 237-241.

¹⁵ Albert H. Hobbs, *Differentials in Internal Migration*, Ph.D. Dissertation, The University of Pennsylvania, 1942.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

Instead the emphasis shifted toward use of residential mobility as a dependent variable.

The influence of individual career patterns, involving upward vertical mobility, upon residential mobility received attention in William H. Whyte's analysis of Park Forest, Illinois. Whyte pictured Park Forest and, by implication, other residential suburbs as the dwelling areas of young lower-echelon management officials in commerce and industry. He stressed the homogeneity of backgrounds, present positions, and tastes of suburbanites, and the inevitability of their residential mobility with occupational advancement.¹⁷ The idea of a distinctive suburban pattern also received support from Jaco and Belknap in their analysis of a new family form emerging in the urban fringe.¹⁸

Analysis of one Lafayette, Indiana, residential subdivision showed that it did not conform completely to Whyte's description. Partridge did find, in North Park, a young management group who had definite expectations of both social and geographical mobility, but she also found residential mobility not associated with occupational advancement. Some 80 per cent of North Park residents were not Whyte's upwardly mobile management group.¹⁹ She concluded that the superficial homogeneity found among North Park residents in age, income, and life-style concealed fundamental differences in the career patterns that male residents of the area follow.

Since the data to be reported in the next

section of this paper were gathered, several studies have appeared that bear upon the influence of career pattern upon residential mobility, and that offer some prospect of reconciling Whyte's and Partridge's divergent findings. Mowrer, studying Chicago suburbs, found evidence of a suburban cycle in which multiple life styles and family forms follow upon the migration of young family units of husband, wife, and one or more children to the suburbs.²⁰ He concluded that suburban patterns are not homogeneous but that "the cycle of suburban life is in microcosm the cycle from the rural to the urban both with respect to the family relationship and community organization."²¹

Other studies have suggested selective migration to the suburbs as a function of factors that might or might not be directly linked to occupational advancement and upward social mobility. Fava, in a study of urban and suburban residents in the New York City area, found evidence for a selective migration to the suburbs "on the basis of non-rational elements of habit, belief, feelings, and experience," and concluded that the suburbs may attract those who are willing to be neighborly.²²

The idea of an association between life-style and suburban migration was carried further by Bell.²³ He postulated three general preference patterns for life-styles in modern society: (1) a high valuation on family living (familism); (2) upward vertical mobility (career); and (3) striving for a high standard of living in the present (consumerism). He hypothesized that persons moving to the suburbs are principally those who have chosen familism over either career or consumerism and presented supporting data from two interview studies in the Chicago area. Thirty-one per cent of his moves involved pure familism with no other reason being given, and familism entered into the

¹⁷ The substance of this argument was later included in William H. Whyte, Jr., *The Organization Man*, (Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957).

¹⁸ E. Garty Jaco and Ivan Belknap, "Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe?" *American Sociological Review*, 18 (October, 1953), pp. 551-557.

¹⁹ Janice Partridge, "A Descriptive Analysis of the Social Characteristics of Residents of a Prefabricated Housing Subdivision," Master's Thesis, Purdue University, August, 1956. North Park residents ran the gamut of occupations found in small mid-western cities. They included young executives, small-businessmen, civil servants, white-collar workers, and skilled and semi-skilled workers. This does not mean, of course, that Park Forest was not the homogeneous community that Whyte found it to be. It does mean that Whyte's model cannot be uncritically generalized to all residential suburbs.

²⁰ Ernest R. Mowrer, "The Family in Suburbia," in William A. Dobriner, editor, *The Suburban Community*, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1958, pp. 147-164.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 163.

²² Sylvia F. Fava, "Contrasts in Neighboring: New York City and a Suburban County," in William A. Dobriner, editor, *ibid.*, pp. 122-131.

²³ Wendell Bell, "Social Choice, Life Styles, and Suburban Residence," in William A. Dobriner, editor, *ibid.*, pp. 225-247.

decision to move in 83 per cent of the cases. Ten per cent of the cases were cited as pure examples of the consumership pattern, and 43 per cent gave consumership along with other reasons. Only 10 per cent had upward mobility aspirations involved in their moves, while 20 per cent said that the husband's job was in some way a factor in the move. Bell recognized that his findings might not hold for different types of suburbs and recommended study of more neighborhoods of many different types.²⁴

Bell's emphasis upon the importance of familism in residential mobility and his conclusion concerning the small influence of the occupational pattern are at variance with our thesis here.²⁵ Unfortunately, Bell's data were not available to us at the time the Vinton Homes survey was designed and we cannot present a test of the relative influence upon household mobility of life-cycle, career pattern, familism and consumership. Instead, we seek adequate explanation for residential mobility in a combination of life-cycle and career pattern variables and propose a model for use in further research.

THE VINTON HOMES SURVEY

The Vinton Homes survey applied Rossi's methodology to analysis of residential mobility in a relatively new urban subdivision. Vinton Homes is an area of 402 two and three bedroom single houses in Lafayette, Indiana. In March, 1957, the area was approximately six years old. The houses currently range in value from just over ten to twenty thousand dollars. Lafayette is a diversified industrial city of approximately 40,000 population. The Purdue University community of West Lafayette is located across the Wabash River and is a separate municipality.

A 50 per cent probability sample of the

households was interviewed. The three life-cycle items comprising Rossi's Mobility Potential Index and five items reflecting the influence of the career pattern were included in the interview schedule. These eight items available for predicting residential mobility were: (a) age of the household head; (b) household size; (c) tenure status;²⁶ (d) years of formal education completed by the household head; (e) the respondent's estimate of his social class position compared with that of his neighbors;²⁷ (f) the respondent's estimate of his prospects for upward social mobility;²⁸ (g) the respondent's attitude toward his present dwelling; and (h) the respondent's attitude toward his present neighborhood.²⁹

To select items for inclusion in a predictive equation, the eight variables were inter-correlated and were also correlated with stated mobility intentions.³⁰ The resulting point correlations are shown in Table 1. A multiple correlation regression design was then formulated for processing through a datatron computer. The correlation of all eight variables to mobility intentions was found to be .76.

Table 2 represents the squares of the correlations of stated mobility intentions to succeeding independent variables along a path of greatest increments. The path started

²⁶ Whereas Rossi had asked whether respondents preferred to own or rent, tenure status in the Vinton Homes study referred to whether the respondents actually owned or rented.

²⁷ Each respondent was asked to place himself and then to place most of his neighbors into one of four classes: upper, middle, working, or lower. The ratings "above," "same as," and "below" neighbors then were used.

²⁸ Respondents were asked to indicate the reasons why they might move from their present dwellings. These reasons were then probed to see whether they involved any significant increases in income or other occupational advancement.

²⁹ Both "dwelling" and "neighborhood" attitudes were assessed by means of Likert-Type items providing five alternatives ranging from "excellent" to "unsatisfactory."

³⁰ Like Rossi, we used stated mobility intentions (for one year) to represent household mobility. We re-interviewed our respondents ten months after the initial contact to check the correspondence between mobility intentions and actual mobility experience. Of 47 households predicting mobility within a year, 40 actually moved within ten months. Of 154 households not planning to move, only 4 did so (Phi coefficient, .84).

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

²⁵ A very recent article points out that explanations of occupational residence patterns have stressed either occupational differences in resources or in style of life. Its authors conclude that residential association is a function of similarity in rank and reflects education more directly than income. See Arnold S. Feldman and Charles Tilly, "The Interaction of Social and Physical Space," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (December, 1960), pp. 877-884.

TABLE 1. INTERCORRELATIONS OF EIGHT MOBILITY VARIABLES AND THEIR CORRELATION WITH STATED MOBILITY INTENTIONS, 201 HOUSEHOLDS, LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

	Age	Household Size	Ownership	House Attitude	Subdivision Attitude	Education	Perceived Class Differences	Social Mobility Expectations	Stated mobility Intentions
Age10	.02	.07	.05	.10	.20	.18	.17
Household size06	.11	.08	.10	.13	.06	.02
Ownership02	.05	.01	.10	.06	.01
House-attitude54	.32	.34	.36	.45
Subdivision attitude30	.16	.16	.25
Education47	.48	.52
Perceived class differences54	.62
Social mobility expectations64
Stated mobility intentions

with X_8 , social mobility expectations; then X_7 , perceived class differences; then X_4 , house attitude; and finally X_6 , education. The selection of variables by the computer stopped there, for the addition of others would have done nothing to increase the correlation with stated mobility intentions.³¹

A predictive equation based upon these correlations was then developed.³² For each household appropriate variable data were inserted into the equation. The values assigned to stated mobility intentions were .00 if there was no intention to move during the year and 1.00 if there was intention to move during the period. The predicted values for individual households ranged from .22 to

2.12. The .05 level of significance was used to test the differences between the predicted and actual values. For 182 of the 201 households the differences between predicted and actual values were not significant. With a sample of this size, ten households would be expected to fall outside these limits purely by chance.

For 19 of the 201 households, the equation failed to predict the respondent's mobility intentions. In 17 of the 19, however, the equation did predict the actual mobility experience. Apparently, in this instance, the discrepancy between stated mobility intentions and actual mobility experience is considerably greater than the error in predicting mobility from the equation.

Two things stood out at this point. First, a high degree of predictive accuracy had been achieved; and, second, the variables that had proved useful in making the predictions were not life-cycle variables. The correlations of age, household size, and tenure

³¹ The Summerfield-Lubin method was used to test each succeeding increment. See A. Summerfield, and A. Lubin, "A Square Root Method of Selecting A Minimum Set of Variables in Multiple Regression," *Psychometrika*, 16 (September, 1951), pp. 271-284.

³² $y = .10 X_1 + .06 X_2 + .46 X_7 + .42 X_8$.

TABLE 2. MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS OF EIGHT VARIABLES TO STATED MOBILITY INTENTIONS ALONG THE PATH OF GREATEST INCREMENTS, 201 HOUSEHOLDS, LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

j	X_1	X_2	X_3	X_4	X_5	X_6	X_7	X_8
$r^2 y_j$	.0303	.0006	.0001	.2043	.0613	.2728	.3861	.4040
$R^2 y_{.8j}$	.4075	.4042	.4047	.4609	.4261	.4646	.5144	.....
$R^2 y_{.78j}$	.5148	.5172	.5174	.5466	.5282	.5392	.....	.....
$R^2 y_{.478j}$	.5472	.5502	.5492	.....	.5474	.5648	.....	.....
$R^2 y_{.4678j}$	not obtained			.....	.5648	.....	.....	.....

y = stated mobility intentions.

X_1 = age of head of household.

X_2 = household size.

X_3 = owning or renting status.

X_4 = house attitude.

X_5 = subdivision attitude.

X_6 = number of years of education.

X_7 = perceived class differences.

X_8 = social mobility expectations.

status with mobility intentions were all quite low (see Table 1), while the correlations of social mobility expectations, perceived class differences, education, and house attitude with mobility intentions were substantial. Consequently, further exploration of the link between career pattern and residential mobility was suggested.

We looked to comprehensive job history data and to data on the respondents' present occupations for clues. In some instances the data showed obvious career mobility through promotions, salary increases, and transfers extending over periods of ten or more years. Such respondents generally replied affirma-

of the 201 households were related to their upward social mobility potential, a striking pattern emerged. The pattern is shown in Table 3. Forty-four of the 47 upwardly mobile households planned to move within the year. Only 20 of the 154 non-upwardly mobile households planned to do so.³⁴ Of 44 households who moved during the year, 42 were judged to have done so as part of the process of upward social mobility and only two moves occurred independently of upward mobility.

These data are not completely consistent with those presented by Bell for two Chicago suburbs where he found the influence of upward mobility upon the suburban move to be almost negligible.³⁵ Unfortunately, Bell's data were not available to us at the time and we made no effort to assess the relative influence of familism and career pattern in our sample. The association between upward mobility and residential mobility was so striking, however, that we are inclined to believe that the samples are from different populations. We have consistently described Vinton Homes as a residential subdivision rather than as a suburb because it is located within the corporate limits of a small city and may not involve the same selective migration that occurs in the commuter suburbs of larger metropolitan centers.

It seemed apparent that in Vinton Homes upward social mobility far outweighed all other considerations in producing residential mobility. While at first glance these findings might be interpreted as refutation of Rossi's conclusions concerning the importance of life-cycle variables in residential mobility, there is no necessary inconsistency between the findings of the two studies. Rossi's respondents were drawn from diverse economic circumstances and from a wide variety of living conditions.³⁶ Moreover, the predictive

TABLE 3. UPWARD MOBILITY POTENTIAL AND RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY INTENTIONS OVER A ONE YEAR PERIOD, 201 HOUSEHOLDS, LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

	Upward Mobility Potential	No Upward Mobility Potential
Residential mobility intentions	44	20
No residential mobility intentions	3	144

tively to the question whether further upward mobility was anticipated. Other respondents had held the same position for many years and did not anticipate upward mobility. With these cases as guides all respondents were classified into potentially mobile and non-mobile groups. Though this classification occasionally resulted in persons who followed superficially similar occupations being placed in different categories, an independent ranking of the respondents verified the reliability of the procedure. Forty-seven of the 201 household heads were classified as having significant upward mobility potential. They came entirely from professional, business, and upper white-collar ranks. The 154 household heads who were classified as non-socially mobile came from the lower white-collar, skilled, and semi-skilled ranks.³³

When the residential mobility intentions

³³ As may be apparent from the text, persons presently in the lower ranks were never classified as potentially mobile, while some upper white-collar and business people were classified as non-mobile.

³⁴ When actual mobility experience over the next ten months was added to the picture, still another relationship was discovered. When households fail to predict their mobility behavior correctly, the direction of the error is a function of the household's upward mobility potential. Among upwardly mobile households the tendency is to underestimate the chances for residential mobility, whereas non-upwardly mobile respondents overestimate the opportunities for residential mobility.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*

³⁶ The fact that 25 per cent of the moves from

accuracy demanded for his study was not so high as in the Vinton Homes study. The Vinton Homes sample was a more homogeneous one. The operation of age as a factor in residential mobility was limited by the fact that only seven heads of household in Vinton Homes were more than 50 years old.³⁷ Nor was it possible for household size to operate with equal effect in Vinton since there were no one-person households in the area.³⁸ Vinton also is an area of home owners, with only 18 of 201 households renting their dwellings.

If the conclusions from these two studies are not necessarily inconsistent, however, one or both of their theoretical bases must be inadequate.³⁹ An adequate explanation of residential mobility would need to encompass the significant factors operating in a wide variety of residential circumstances. An approximation of a model for the explanation of *voluntary* residential mobility can be found in the following paradigm based upon both family life-cycle and upward social mobility.

Stage of Family Life-Cycle	Upward Mobility Potential		No Upward Mobility Potential	
	Move	Stay	Move	Stay
Expansion Stage	1	2	5	6
Non-Expansion Stage	3	4	7	8

The paradigm assumes that both the need for more living space as the family increases

his areas were involuntary suggests a significant number of demolitions, fires, evictions, and so on, all of which failed to appear in Vinton Homes.

³⁷ None of these 7 households moved or otherwise displayed significant mobility potential.

³⁸ Rossi distinguished one-person households, two-person households, and households with 3 or more persons.

³⁹ Either of the two studies may be based upon such atypical samples as to cast doubt upon the generalizability of their findings. Rossi has confidence that his data, based upon four census tracts, are not seriously so-limited. Since the Vinton sample was much more homogeneous, a follow-up study using a probability sample of Lafayette households is now being completed. Preliminary screening of the data indicates that career pattern and upward social mobility will remain as highly significant determinants of residential mobility.

in size and the need to adjust housing to changes in social status are potent forces inducing families to move. The push toward residential mobility would be greatest when the two forces act in concert and least when neither is operative. The expected distribution of cases, for heterogeneous universes, in the eight cells might be summarized as follows:

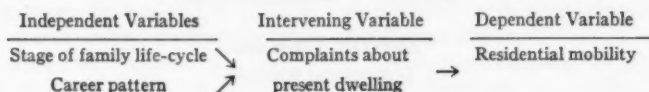
- Cell No. 1. There should be many more cases in cell No. 1 than in cell No. 2.
- Cell No. 2. Families socially tied to an ancestral home or experiencing similar restriction upon moving would be found here. The arbitrary time period covered in the prediction would force some potential movers into this cell.
- Cell No. 3. Upward social mobility alone would produce a significant number of moves. Luxury features in the new dwelling would take priority over additional space.
- Cell No. 4. There should be fewer cases here than in cell No. 3. The absence of pressure for additional space would permit some households to shunt their resources into values other than housing. Conscious rejection of the ideology of status striving through material possessions should be common.
- Cell No. 5. Increased household size alone would produce a significant number of moves. Additional space would take priority over luxury features.
- Cell No. 6. Lack of resources would prevent a large number of households from moving even when there is a pressing need for additional space.
- Cell No. 7. Cases would appear in this cell only in response to factors not included in the theoretical framework: demolitions, evictions, fires, straight job transfers, etc. These moves would be involuntary.
- Cell No. 8. No significant pushes toward residential mobility. At any one time, this cell likely would contain the largest number of cases.

It would be highly desirable to test this model in a variety of urban circumstances: with probability samples drawn from small and large cities, and from metropolitan areas; and with more homogeneous samples from deteriorated areas, middle-class suburbs, and so forth. Any gross deviations

from the expected distributions of cases in the various cells would require revision of the model and the introduction of additional causal factors.⁴⁰

THE DECISION TO MOVE

Thus far we have surveyed the empirical evidence and incorporated family life-cycle and career pattern variables into a framework for the description and explanation of residential mobility. One task remaining is to consider the process whereby life-cycle and career pattern variables become translated into individual decisions to move.



Rossi sought to illuminate the development of the decision to move through the method of reason analysis.⁴¹ The decision to move was seen as the making of a conscious choice among explicit alternatives, with the emphasis upon the household's attitudes toward the present dwelling and upon the attractions of the new dwelling.⁴² His assumption was that "a household starts out with some kind of complaint, decides to move, has definite ideas about the kind of dwelling it wants, and finally, makes a choice among several dwellings according to their relative merits."⁴³ The method of reason

analysis, however, necessarily limits the time span over which complaints as causes operate, and draws attention away from life-cycle variables as major determinants of residential mobility.

Complaints about the present dwelling can be put into fuller perspective if they are treated as intervening variables in the development of the decision to move. Viewed thus, in terms of the Philadelphia and Lafayette studies, the independent variables become "stage of the family life-cycle" and "career pattern," and the dependent variable is "residential mobility."

It seems plausible that complaints about a dwelling are not simply a function of such objective characteristics as improper construction, inadequate storage facilities, deteriorating neighborhood, and so on, but also reflect the opportunities that a household sees to escape these conditions by moving to another dwelling. Families without significant residential mobility potential may well rationalize the same features which potentially mobile families list as objectionable. And even the same families who find a dwelling satisfactory at one point may become dissatisfied with it as the pressure of additional household members makes it inadequate and/or as the financial means are acquired to make a move possible. That verbalized complaints about the dwelling reflect more basic underlying factors is also suggested by Rossi's finding that complaints about one feature tend to be accompanied by complaints about other features of the dwelling.⁴⁴ The verbalization of specific complaints about the present dwelling and the anticipation of more satisfactory features in the new dwelling may be the vehicle for the translation of mobility potential into mobility intentions.

conscious factors affecting the decision to move. He did note that one can be interested in why complaints arise and then search for changes in the household or dwelling unit that made the current housing unsatisfactory (p. 212).

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

⁴⁰ The point has been made that age of household head, household size, and tenure preference do not provide an adequate index of family life-cycle. With this, the authors agree. Use of the above items provides comparability with Rossi's study, but future studies might get at family life-cycle more directly through tracing changes in family composition. Such data, coupled with data on values placed upon family living versus career striving would permit definitive test of the theoretical positions assumed by Rossi, Bell, and the present authors.

⁴¹ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Statistical Analysis of Reasons as a Research Operation," *Sociometry*, 5 (February, 1942), pp. 29-47.

⁴² Rossi, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-132.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 128. It should be pointed out that Rossi's selection of complaints as the starting point in the development of the decision to move did not imply that he assigned particular theoretical significance to this factor. Since he was interested in helping modify policy in the construction of housing units, he appropriately focussed on recent

It should not be implied, of course, that the general model to account for residential mobility developed in this article has adequate empirical foundation. The relevant studies to date have differed sufficiently in general purposes, in populations studied, and in methodological detail to make it possible that the differences in their findings are artifacts thereof. Yet a theoretical scheme

including both life-cycle and career pattern variables is in accord with the general complexity of social relationships and threatens the integrity of neither Rossi's analysis nor the present study. Further, consideration of complaints as immediate pre-condition for mobility places independent, intervening, and dependent variables in the potentially most fruitful relation to one another.

A SOCIETAL THEORY OF RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

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In endeavoring to understand the wide variations between societies in the nature and process of race and ethnic relations, it is necessary to consider the conditions inherent in contact between such populations. Assuming that race and ethnic groups differ in their social, political, and economic institutions, then contact involves the presence of different and, to some extent, incompatible social organizations. Further, groups will presumably differ in the capacity to impose their social order upon other nationalities. On these assumptions, the major hypothesis proposed is that the race relations cycle in societies where a migrant population imposes its social order differs sharply from the cycle in societies where the indigenous population is superordinate.

IN the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself."¹ Park's assertion served as a prologue to the now classical cycle of competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation. A number of other attempts have been made to formulate phases or stages ensuing from the initial contacts between racial and ethnic groups.² However, the sharp

contrasts between relatively harmonious race relations in Brazil and Hawaii and the current racial turmoil in South Africa and Indonesia serve to illustrate the difficulty in stating—to say nothing of interpreting—an inevitable "natural history" of race and ethnic relations.

Many earlier race and ethnic cycles were, in fact, narrowly confined to a rather specific set of groups or contact situations. Bogardus, for example, explicitly limited his synthesis to Mexican and Oriental immigrant groups on the west coast of the United States and suggested that this is but one of many different cycles of relations between immigrants and native Americans.³ Similarly, the Australian anthropologist Price developed three phases that appear to account for the relationships between white English-speaking migrants and the aborigines of Australia,

¹ Robert E. Park, *Race and Culture*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1950, p. 150.

² For example, Emory S. Bogardus, "A Race-Relations Cycle," *American Journal of Sociology*, 35 (January, 1930), pp. 612-617; W. O. Brown, "Culture Contact and Race Conflict" in E. B. Reuter, editor, *Race and Culture Contacts*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1934, pp. 34-47; E. Franklin Frazier, *Race and Culture Contacts in the Modern World*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1957, pp. 32 ff.; Clarence E. Glick, "Social Roles and Types in Race Relations" in Andrew W. Lind, editor, *Race Relations in World Perspective*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955, pp. 243-262; Edward Nelson Palmer, "Culture Contacts and Population Growth" in Joseph J. Spengler and Otis Dudley Duncan, editors, *Population Theory and Policy*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956, pp. 410-415; A. Grenfell Price, *White Settlers and Native Peo-*

ples, Melbourne: Georgian House, 1950. For summaries of several of these cycles, see Brewton Berry, *Race and Ethnic Relations*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958, Chapter 6.

³ Bogardus, *op. cit.*, p. 612.

Maoris in New Zealand, and Indians of the United States and Canada.⁴

This paper seeks to present a rudimentary theory of the development of race and ethnic relations that systematically accounts for differences between societies in such divergent consequences of contact as racial nationalism and warfare, assimilation and fusion, and extinction. It postulates that the critical problem on a societal level in racial or ethnic contact is initially each population's maintenance and development of a social order compatible with its ways of life prior to contact. The crux of any cycle must, therefore, deal with political, social, and economic institutions. The emphasis given in earlier cycles to one group's dominance of another in these areas is therefore hardly surprising.⁵

Although we accept this institutional approach, the thesis presented here is that knowledge of the nature of one group's domination over another in the political, social, and economic spheres is a necessary but insufficient prerequisite for predicting or interpreting the final and intermediate stages of racial and ethnic contact. Rather, institutional factors are considered in terms of a distinction between two major types of contact situations: contacts involving subordination of an indigenous population by a migrant group, for example, Negro-white relations in South Africa; and contacts involving subordination of a migrant population by an indigenous racial or ethnic group, for example, Japanese migrants to the United States.

After considering the societal issues inherent in racial and ethnic contact, the distinction developed between migrant and indigenous superordination will be utilized in examining each of the following dimensions of race relations: political and economic control, multiple ethnic contacts, conflict and assimilation. The terms "race" and "ethnic" are used interchangeably.

DIFFERENCES INHERENT IN CONTACT

Most situations of ethnic contact involve at least one indigenous group and at least one group migrating to the area. The only

exception at the initial point in contact would be the settlement of an uninhabited area by two or more groups. By "indigenous" is meant not necessarily the aborigines, but rather a population sufficiently established in an area so as to possess the institutions and demographic capacity for maintaining some minimal form of social order through generations. Thus a given spatial area may have different indigenous groups through time. For example, the indigenous population of Australia is presently largely white and primarily of British origin, although the Tasmanoids and Australoids were once in possession of the area.⁶ A similar racial shift may be observed in the populations indigenous to the United States.

Restricting discussion to the simplest of contact situations, i.e., involving one migrant and one established population, we can generally observe sharp differences in their social organization at the time of contact. The indigenous population has an established and presumably stable organization prior to the arrival of migrants, i.e., government, economic activities adapted to the environment and the existing techniques of resource utilization, kinship, stratification, and religious systems.⁷ On the basis of a long series of migration studies, we may be reasonably certain that the social order of a migrant population's homeland is not wholly transferred to their new settlement.⁸ Migrants are required to make at least some institutional adaptations and innovations in view of the presence of an indigenous population, the demographic selectivity of migration, and differences in habitat.

For example, recent post-war migrations from Italy and the Netherlands indicate considerable selectivity in age and sex from the total populations of these countries. Nearly half of 30,000 males leaving the Netherlands in 1955 were between 20 and 39 years of age whereas only one quarter of the male population was of these ages.⁹

⁶ Price, *op. cit.*, Chapters 6 and 7.

⁷ Glick, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

⁸ See, for example, Brinley Thomas, "International Migration" in Philip M. Hauser and Otis Dudley Duncan, editors, *The Study of Population*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959, pp. 523-526.

⁹ United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1957, pp. 147, 645.

⁴ Price, *op. cit.*

⁵ Intra-urban stages of contact are not considered here.

Similarly, over 40,000 males in this age range accounted for somewhat more than half of Italy's male emigrants in 1951, although they comprise roughly 30 per cent of the male population of Italy.¹⁰ In both countries, male emigrants exceed females in absolute numbers as well as in comparison with the sex ratios of their nation. That these cases are far from extreme can be illustrated with Oriental migration data. In 1920, for example, there were 38,000 foreign born Chinese adult males in the United States, but only 2,000 females of the same group.¹¹

In addition to these demographic shifts, the new physical and biological conditions of existence require the revision and creation of social institutions if the social order known in the old country is to be approximated and if the migrants are to survive. The migration of eastern and southern European peasants around the turn of the century to urban industrial centers of the United States provides a well-documented case of radical changes in occupational pursuits as well as the creation of a number of institutions in response to the new conditions of urban life, e.g., mutual aid societies, national churches, and financial institutions.

In short, when two populations begin to occupy the same habitat but do not share a single order, each group endeavors to maintain the political and economic conditions that are at least compatible with the institutions existing before contact. These conditions for the maintenance of institutions can not only differ for the two groups in contact, but are often conflicting. European contacts with the American Indian, for example, led to the decimation of the latter's sources of sustenance and disrupted religious and tribal forms of organization. With respect to a population's efforts to maintain its social institutions, we may therefore assume that the presence of another ethnic group is an important part of the environment. Further, if groups in contact differ in their capacity to impose changes on the other group, then we may expect to find one

group "superordinate" and the other population "subordinate" in maintaining or developing a suitable environment.

It is here that efforts at a single cycle of race and ethnic relations must fail. For it is necessary to introduce a distinction in the nature or form of subordination before attempting to predict whether conflict or relatively harmonious assimilation will develop. As we shall shortly show, the race relations cycle in areas where the migrant group is superordinate and indigenous group subordinate differs sharply from the stages in societies composed of a superordinate indigenous group and subordinate migrants.¹²

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTROL

Emphasis is placed herein on economic and political dominance since it is assumed that control of these institutions will be instrumental in establishing a suitable milieu for at least the population's own social institutions, e.g., educational, religious, and kinship, as well as control of such major cultural artifacts as language.

Migrant Superordination. When the population migrating to a new contact situation is superior in technology (particularly weapons) and more tightly organized than the indigenous group, the necessary conditions for maintaining the migrants' political and economic institutions are usually imposed on the indigenous population. Warfare, under such circumstances, often occurs early in the contacts between the two groups as the migrants begin to interfere with the natives' established order. There is frequently conflict even if the initial contact was friendly. Price, for example, has observed the following consequences of white invasion and subordination of the indigenous populations of Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States:

During an opening period of pioneer invasion on moving frontiers the whites decimated the natives with their diseases; occupied their lands by seizure or by pseudo-purchase; slaughtered those who resisted; intensified tribal warfare by supplying white weapons; ridiculed and disrupted native re-

¹⁰ United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1954, pp. 131, 669.

¹¹ R. D. McKenzie, *Oriental Exclusion*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928, p. 83.

¹² See, for example, Reuter's distinction between two types of direct contact in E. B. Reuter, editor, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-7.

ligions, society and culture, and generally reduced the unhappy peoples to a state of despondency under which they neither desired to live, nor to have children to undergo similar conditions.¹³

The numerical decline of indigenous populations after their initial subordination to a migrant group, whether caused by warfare, introduction of venereal and other diseases, or disruption of sustenance activities, has been documented for a number of contact situations in addition to those discussed by Price.¹⁴

In addition to bringing about these demographic and economic upheavals, the superordinate migrants frequently create political entities that are not at all coterminous with the boundaries existing during the indigenous populations' supremacy prior to contact. For example, the British and Boers in southern Africa carved out political states that included areas previously under the control of separate and often warring groups.¹⁵ Indeed, European alliances with feuding tribes were often used as a fulcrum for the territorial expansion of whites into southern Africa.¹⁶ The bifurcation of tribes into two nations and the migrations of groups across newly created national boundaries are both consequences of the somewhat arbitrary nature of the political entities created in regions of migrant superordination.¹⁷ This incorporation of diverse indigenous populations into a single territorial unit under the dominance of a migrant group has considerable importance for later developments in this type of racial and ethnic contact.

Indigenous Superordination. When a population migrates to a subordinate position considerably less conflict occurs in the early

stages. The movements of many European and Oriental populations to political, economic, and social subordination in the United States were not converted into warfare, nationalism, or long-term conflict. Clearly, the occasional labor and racial strife marking the history of immigration of the United States is not on the same level as the efforts to expel or revolutionize the social order. American Negroes, one of the most persistently subordinated migrant groups in the country, never responded in significant numbers to the encouragement of migration to Liberia. The single important large-scale nationalistic effort, Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association, never actually led to mass emigration of Negroes.¹⁸ By contrast, the indigenous American Indians fought long and hard to preserve control over their habitat.

In interpreting differences in the effects of migrant and indigenous subordination, the migrants must be considered in the context of the options available to the group. Irish migrants to the United States in the 1840's, for example, although clearly subordinate to native whites of other origins, fared better economically than if they had remained in their mother country.¹⁹ Further, the option of returning to the homeland often exists for populations migrating to subordinate situations. Jerome reports that net migration to the United States between the midyears of 1907 and 1923 equalled roughly 65 per cent of gross immigration.²⁰ This indicates that immigrant dissatisfaction with subordination or other conditions of contact can often be resolved by withdrawal from the area. Recently subordinated indigenous groups, by contrast, are perhaps less apt to leave their habitat so readily.

Finally, when contacts between racial and ethnic groups are under the control of the indigenous population, threats of demographic and institutional imbalance are re-

¹³ Price, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

¹⁴ Stephen Roberts, *Population Problems of the Pacific*, London: George Routledge & Sons, 1927.

¹⁵ John A. Barnes, "Race Relations in the Development of Southern Africa" in Lind, editor, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ Witness the current controversies between tribes in the newly created Congo Republic. Also, for a list of tribes living on both sides of the border of the Republic of Sudan, see Karol Józef Krótki, "Demographic Survey of Sudan" in *The Population of Sudan*, report on the sixth annual conference, Khartoum: Philosophical Society of Sudan, 1958, p. 35.

¹⁸ John Hope Franklin, *From Slavery to Freedom*, second edition, New York: Alfred Knopf, 1956, pp. 234-238, 481-483.

¹⁹ Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants*, revised edition, Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959, Chapter 2.

²⁰ Harry Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles*, New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1926, pp. 43-44.

duced since the superordinate populations can limit the numbers and groups entering. For example, when Oriental migration to the United States threatened whites, sharp cuts were executed in the quotas.²¹ Similar events may be noted with respect to the decline of immigration from the so-called "new" sources of eastern and southern Europe. Whether a group exercises its control over immigration far before it is actually under threat is, of course, not germane to the point that immigrant restriction provides a mechanism whereby potential conflict is prevented.

In summary, groups differ in the conditions necessary for maintaining their respective social orders. In areas where the migrant group is dominant, frequently the indigenous population suffers sharp numerical declines and their economic and political institutions are seriously undermined. Conflict often accompanies the establishment of migrant superordination. Subordinate indigenous populations generally have no alternative location and do not control the numbers of new ethnic populations admitted into their area. By contrast, when the indigenous population dominates the political and economic conditions, the migrant group is introduced into the economy of the indigenous population. Although subordinate in their new habitat, the migrants may fare better than if they remained in their homeland. Hence their subordination occurs without great conflict. In addition, the migrants usually have the option of returning to their homeland and the indigenous population controls the number of new immigrants in the area.

MULTIPLE ETHNIC CONTACTS

Although the introduction of a third major ethnic or racial group frequently occurs in both types of societies distinguished here, there are significant differences between conditions in habitats under indigenous domination and areas where a migrant population is superordinate. Chinese and Indian migrants, for example, were often welcomed by whites in areas where large indigenous populations

were suppressed, but these migrants were restricted in the white mother country. Consideration of the causes and consequences of multi-ethnic contacts is therefore made in terms of the two types of racial and ethnic contact.

Migrant Superordination. In societies where the migrant population is superordinate, it is often necessary to introduce new immigrant groups to fill the niches created in the revised economy of the area. The subordinate indigenous population frequently fails, at first, to participate in the new economic and political order introduced by migrants. For example, because of the numerical decline of Fijians after contact with whites and their unsatisfactory work habits, approximately 60,000 persons migrated from India to the sugar plantations of Fiji under the indenture system between 1879 and 1916.²² For similar reasons, as well as the demise of slavery, large numbers of Indians were also introduced to such areas of indigenous subordination as Mauritius, British Guiana, Trinidad, and Natal.²³ The descendants of these migrants comprise the largest single ethnic group in several of these areas.

McKenzie, after observing the negligible participation of the subordinated indigenous populations of Alaska, Hawaii, and Malaya in contrast to the large numbers of Chinese, Indian, and other Oriental immigrants, offers the following interpretation:

The indigenous peoples of many of the frontier zones of modern industrialism are surrounded by their own web of culture and their own economic structure. Consequently they are slow to take part in the new economy especially as unskilled laborers. It is the individual who is widely removed from his native habitat that is most adaptable to the conditions imposed by capitalism in frontier regions. Imported labor cannot so easily escape to its home village when conditions are distasteful as can the local population.²⁴

²² K. L. Gillion, "The Sources of Indian Emigration to Fiji," *Population Studies*, 10 (November, 1956), p. 139; I. M. Cumpston, "A Survey of Indian Immigration to British Tropical Colonies to 1910," *ibid.*, pp. 158-159.

²³ Cumpston, *op. cit.*, pp. 158-165.

²⁴ R. D. McKenzie, "Cultural and Racial Differences as Bases of Human Symbiosis" in Kimball Young, editor, *Social Attitudes*, New York: Henry Holt, 1931, p. 157.

²¹ See, George Eaton Simpson and J. Milton Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities*, revised edition, New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958, pp. 126-132.

Similarly, the Indians of the United States played a minor role in the new economic activities introduced by white settlers and, further, were not used successfully as slaves.²⁵ Frazier reports that Negro slaves were utilized in the West Indies and Brazil after unsuccessful efforts to enslave the indigenous Indian populations.²⁶ Large numbers of Asiatic Indians were brought to South Africa as indentured laborers to work in the railways, mines, and plantations introduced by whites.²⁷

This migration of workers into areas where the indigenous population was either unable or insufficient to work in the newly created economic activities was also marked by a considerable flow back to the home country. For example, nearly 3.5 million Indians left the Madras Presidency for overseas between 1903 and 1912, but close to 3 million returned during this same period.²⁸ However, as we observed earlier, large numbers remained overseas and formed major ethnic populations in a number of countries. Current difficulties of the ten million Chinese in Southeast Asia are in large part due to their settlement in societies where the indigenous populations were subordinate.

Indigenous Superordination. We have observed that in situations of indigenous superordination the call for new immigrants from other ethnic and racial populations is limited in a manner that prevents the indigenous group's loss of political and economic control. Under such conditions, no single different ethnic or racial population is sufficiently large in number or strength to challenge the supremacy of the indigenous population.

After whites attained dominance in Hawaii, that land provided a classic case of the substitution of one ethnic group after another during a period when large numbers of immigrants were needed for the newly created and expanding plantation economy. According to Lind, the shifts from Chinese to Japanese and Portuguese immigrants and the later shifts to Puerto Rican, Korean, Span-

ish, Russian, and Philippine sources for the plantation laborers were due to conscious efforts to prevent any single group from obtaining too much power.²⁹ Similarly, the exclusion of Chinese from the United States mainland stimulated the migration of the Japanese and, in turn, the later exclusion of Japanese led to increased migration from Mexico.³⁰

In brief, groups migrating to situations of multiple ethnic contact are thus subordinate in both types of contact situations. However, in societies where whites are superordinate but do not settle as an indigenous population, other racial and ethnic groups are admitted in large numbers and largely in accordance with economic needs of the revised economy of the habitat. By contrast, when a dominant migrant group later becomes indigenous, in the sense that the area becomes one of permanent settlement through generations for the group, migrant populations from new racial and ethnic stocks are restricted in number and source.

CONFLICT AND ASSIMILATION

From a comparison of the surge of racial nationalism and open warfare in parts of Africa and Asia or the retreat of superordinate migrants from the former Dutch East Indies and French Indo-China, on the one hand, with the fusion of populations in many nations of western Europe or the "cultural pluralism" of the United States and Switzerland, on the other, one must conclude that neither conflict nor assimilation is an inevitable outcome of racial and ethnic contact. Our distinction, however, between two classes of race and ethnic relations is directly relevant to consideration of which of these alternatives different populations in contact will take. In societies where the indigenous population at the initial contact is subordinate, warfare and nationalism often—although not always—develops later in the cycle of relations. By contrast, relations between migrants and indigenous populations that are subordinate and superordinate, re-

²⁵ Franklin, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

²⁶ Frazier, *op. cit.*, pp. 107-108.

²⁷ Leo Kuper, Hilstan Watts, and Ronald Davies, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology*, London: Jonathan Cape, 1958, p. 25.

²⁸ Gillion, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

²⁹ Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. 218-229.

³⁰ McKenzie, *Oriental Exclusion, op. cit.*, p. 181.

spectively, are generally without long-term conflict.

Migrant Superordination. Through time, the subordinated indigenous population begins to participate in the economy introduced by the migrant group and, frequently, a concomitant disruption of previous forms of social and economic organization takes place. This, in turn, has significant implications for the development of both nationalism and a greater sense of racial unity. In many African states, where Negroes were subdivided into ethnic groups prior to contact with whites, the racial unity of the African was created by the occupation of their habitat by white invaders.³¹ The categorical subordination of Africans by whites as well as the dissolution and decay of previous tribal and ethnic forms of organization are responsible for the creation of racial consciousness among the indigenous populations.³² As the indigenous group becomes increasingly incorporated within the larger system, both the saliency of their subordinate position and its significance increase. No alternative exists for the bulk of the native population other than the destruction or revision of the institutions of political, economic, and social subordination.

Further, it appears that considerable conflict occurs in those areas where the migrants are not simply superordinate, but where they themselves have also become, in a sense, indigenous by maintaining an established population through generations. In Table 1, for example, one can observe how sharply the white populations of Algeria and the Union of South Africa differ from those in nine other African countries with respect to the per cent born in the country of settlement. Thus, two among the eleven African countries for which such data were available³³ are outstanding with respect to both racial

TABLE 1. NATIVITY OF THE WHITE POPULATIONS OF SELECTED AFRICAN COUNTRIES, CIRCA 1950

Country	Per Cent of Whites Born in Country
Algeria	79.8
Basutoland	37.4
Bechuanaland	39.5
Morocco ^a	37.1 ^c
Northern Rhodesia	17.7
Southern Rhodesia	31.5
South West Africa ^b	45.1
Swaziland	41.2
Tanganyika	47.6
Uganda	43.8
Union of South Africa	89.7

Source: United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1956, Table 5.

^a Former French zone.

^b Excluding Walvis Bay.

^c Persons born in former Spanish zone or in Tangier are included as native.

Note: Other non-indigenous groups included when necessary breakdown by race is not given.

turmoil and the high proportion of whites born in the country. To be sure, other factors operate to influence the nature of racial and ethnic relations. However these data strongly support our suggestions with respect to the significance of differences between indigenous and migrant forms of contact. Thus where the migrant population becomes established in the new area, it is all the more difficult for the indigenous subordinate group to change the social order.

Additionally, where the formerly subordinate indigenous population has become dominant through the expulsion of the superordinate group, the situation faced by nationalities introduced to the area under earlier conditions of migrant superordination changes radically. For example, as we noted earlier, Chinese were welcomed in many parts of Southeast Asia where the newly subordinated indigenous populations were unable or unwilling to fill the economic niches created by the white invaders. However, after whites were expelled and the indigenous populations obtained political mastery, the gates to further Chinese immigration were fairly well closed and there has been increasing interference with the Chinese already present. In Indonesia, where Chinese immigration had been encouraged under Dutch domain, the newly created indigenous government allows only token immigration and has formulated

³¹ For a discussion of territorial and tribal movements, see James S. Coleman, "Current Political Movements in Africa," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 298 (March, 1955), pp. 95-108.

³² For a broader discussion of emergent nationalism, see, Thomas Hodgkin, *Nationalism in Colonial Africa*, New York: New York University Press, 1957; Everett C. Hughes, "New Peoples" in Lind, editor, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-115.

³³ United Nations, *Demographic Yearbook*, 1956, Table 5.

a series of laws and measures designed to interfere with and reduce Chinese commercial activities.³⁴ Thompson and Adloff observe that,

Since the war, the Chinese have been subjected to increasingly restrictive measures throughout Southeast Asia, but the severity and effectiveness of these has varied with the degree to which the native nationalists are in control of their countries and feel their national existence threatened by the Chinese.³⁵

Indigenous Superordination. By contrast, difficulties between subordinate migrants and an already dominant indigenous population occur within the context of a consensual form of government, economy, and social institutions. However confused and uncertain may be the concept of assimilation and its application in operational terms,³⁶ it is important to note that assimilation is essentially a very different phenomenon in the two types of societies distinguished here.

Where populations migrate to situations of subordination, the issue has generally been with respect to the migrants' capacity and willingness to become an integral part of the on-going social order. For example, this has largely been the case in the United States where the issue of "new" vs. "old" immigrant groups hinged on the alleged inferiorities of the former.³⁷ The occasional flurries of violence under this form of contact have been generally initiated by the dominant indigenous group and with respect to such threats against the social order as the cheap labor competition of Orientals in the west coast,³⁸ the nativist fears of Irish Catholic political domination of Boston in the nineteenth century,³⁹ or the desecration of sacred prin-

ciples by Mexican "zoot-suiters" in Los Angeles.⁴⁰

The conditions faced by subordinate migrants in Australia and Canada after the creation of indigenous white societies in these areas are similar to that of the United States; that is, limited and sporadic conflict, and great emphasis on the assimilation of migrants. Striking and significant contrasts to the general pattern of subordinant immigrant assimilation in these societies, however, are provided by the differences between the assimilation of Italian and German immigrants in Australia as well as the position of French Canadians in eastern Canada.

French Canadians have maintained their language and other major cultural and social attributes whereas nineteenth and twentieth century immigrants are in process of merging into the predominantly English-speaking Canadian society. Although broader problems of territorial segregation are involved,⁴¹ the critical difference between French Canadians and later groups is that the former had an established society in the new habitat prior to the British conquest of Canada and were thus largely able to maintain their social and cultural unity without significant additional migration from France.⁴²

Similarly, in finding twentieth century Italian immigrants in Australia more prone to cultural assimilation than were German migrants to that nation in the 1800's, Borrie emphasized the fact that Italian migration occurred after Australia had become an independent nation-state. By contrast, Germans settled in what was a pioneer colony without an established general social order and institutions. Thus, for example, Italian children were required to attend Australian schools and learn English, whereas the German im-

³⁴ B. H. M. Vlekke, *Indonesia in 1956*, The Hague: Netherlands Institute of International Affairs, 1957, p. 88.

³⁵ Virginia Thompson and Richard Adloff, *Minority Problems in Southeast Asia*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1955, p. 3.

³⁶ See, for example, International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, "Cultural Assimilation of Immigrants," *Population Studies*, supplement, March, 1950.

³⁷ Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life*, Garden City, New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1957, Chapter 5.

³⁸ Simpson and Yinger, *op. cit.*

³⁹ Oscar Handlin, *Boston's Immigrants, op. cit.*, Chapter 7.

⁴⁰ Ralph Turner and Samuel J. Surace, "Zoot-Suiters and Mexicans: Symbols in Crowd Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, 62 (July, 1956), pp. 14-20.

⁴¹ It is, however, suggestive to consider whether the isolated settlement of an area by a racial, religious, or ethnic group would be permitted in other than frontier conditions. Consider, for example, the difficulties faced by Mormons until they reached Utah.

⁴² See Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

migrants were forced to establish their own educational program.⁴³

Thus the consequences of racial and ethnic contact may also be examined in terms of the two types of superordinate-subordinate contact situations considered. For the most part, subordinate migrants appear to be more rapidly assimilated than are subordinate indigenous populations. Further, the subordinate migrant group is generally under greater pressure to assimilate, at least in the gross sense of "assimilation" such as language, than are subordinate indigenous populations. In addition, warfare or racial nationalism—when it does occur—tends to be in societies where the indigenous population is subordinate. If the indigenous movement

succeeds, the economic and political position of racial and ethnic populations introduced to the area under migrant dominance may become tenuous.

A FINAL NOTE

It is suggested that interest be revived in the conditions accounting for societal variations in the process of relations between racial and ethnic groups. A societal theory of race relations, based on the migrant-indigenous and superordinate-subordinate distinctions developed above, has been found to offer an orderly interpretation of differences in the nature of race and ethnic relations in the contact situations considered. Since, however, systematic empirical investigation provides a far more rigorous test of the theory's merits and limitations, comparative cross-societal studies are needed.

⁴³ W. D. Borrie assisted by D. R. G. Packer, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire, 1954, *passim*.

ILLEGITIMACY, ANOMIE, AND CULTURAL PENETRATION

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An examination of the cultural conditions under which high illegitimacy rates occur suggests possible modifications in theories of assimilation, the destruction of social and cultural systems, and the relations between social and cultural integration. The relatively high rates in Northwestern Europe are explained as a genuine rural sub-culture, but the high rates in industrializing sub-Saharan Africa and the New World south of the Mason-Dixon line are seen as arising from the destruction of both the social and the cultural systems of a group undergoing acculturation. Contrasts and similarities among the U.S. South, the Caribbean, Africa, and the Latin-American mainland are outlined. New World Indians and slaves are viewed as having been neither culturally nor socially integrated in their communities, or into the national life. Three deductions from the analysis suggest (1) a theory of phases, according to which rural rates in the New World should generally be higher than the urban; (2) a correlation between low national rates and the degree of national cultural and social integration; and (3) the existence of genuine communities in which there is internal cultural and social integration, and thus low illegitimacy rates. Data are presented to verify these deductions from the broader theory.

SINCE the family is a prime instrumental agency through which the needs of various institutional needs are met, and legitimacy is the keystone of the family system, an examination of family systems with high illegitimacy rates should yield useful data on the integration of societies. Analysis of high illegitimacy rates indeed suggests that some modifications may be profitably made in several segments of sociological theory: (1) the cultural and social

conditions under which high illegitimacy rates occur; (2) the classical theory of the assimilation of both native rural and foreign-born immigrants in the United States; (3) effective procedures for destroying cultural and social systems; and (4) the relation between social and cultural integration.

Illegitimacy rates are, or have been, relatively high in three major areas: Northwestern Europe, industrializing sub-Saharan Africa, and the New World, from Tierra

del Fuego to the non-white Southern population of the U. S. To consider these in turn, let us note that Iceland and particular regions in Sweden, Germany, and Austria have had rates of about twenty to thirty per cent in recent years.¹ In special studies of native urbanizing areas in sub-Saharan Africa, rates of forty per cent or more have been reported.² In the New World, partic-

ular provinces may have rates over eighty per cent, a handful of mainland countries have rates over seventy per cent, and a majority of all the political units have rates over thirty per cent. The non-white populations of the Southern states in the United States had rates of twenty to thirty per cent in 1957.³

Why did the New World rates become so high? They cannot be "survivals of native customs," since neither the native Indian groups nor the New World immigrants, whether White or African, had especially high rates of illegitimacy.⁴ Moreover, they had many different family patterns—patriline and matriline, low and high divorce rates, polygyny and monogamy—but the rates are generally high.

Another common explanation is that the consensual union, out of which such high rates grow, is part of the "development of a new sub-culture." That is, the union without benefit of wedlock is the "native," normatively supported equivalent of a legalized union. Consequently, Malinowski's Principle of Legitimacy, according to which every society has a rule condemning illegitimacy, is to be discarded. This explanation is not satisfactory, either. For at least the Caribbean, where this explanation has been widespread, it has been shown that both mother and child have a lower status outside the legal union, that women prefer to be married, and there is general agreement that the ideal family relationship is that of marriage. Moreover, a majority eventually do marry in the Caribbean. The Principle of Legitimacy is, then, roughly correct. But we did correct Malinowski's Principle in

¹ Iceland's rate was 27.9% in 1950 (Meyer F. Nimkoff, "Illegitimacy," in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 1954. The Swedish illegitimacy rate has been dropping over the past generation. The highest rates have been found in Stockholm (1841-1860, 43% illegitimate; 1901-1910, 34%; 1921-1925, 28%), but presumably these include many rural mothers. However, the regions of Gävleborgslän and Jamtlands län have continued to be relatively high (23% and 21% in 1921-1925; 17.6% and 18.5% in 1956). In Steiermark in Austria, the rate was 19% in 1956 (*Stat. J. Oesterreichs*, 1956). Oberbayern in Germany had a rate of 18.5% in 1954 (*Stat. J. Für Bayern*, 1955). I have recently found that certain regions of Portugal (Lisboa, Beja, Evora, and Setubal) have rates of 20%-30%, but I have found no special reports on them.

² The best surveys of recent changes may be found in *Social Implications of Industrialization and Urbanization South of the Sahara*, Paris, UNESCO, 1956, and *Survey of African Marriage and Survey of African Marriage and Family Life*, edited by Arthur Phillips, London: Oxford University, 1953. Twenty-three per cent of all unmarried women in certain Kxatla groups had borne children, 19% among the Ngwato and 17% among the Kwenä (I. Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life*, New York: Oxford, 1947, p. 173). An analysis of Bantu attitudes toward illegitimacy may be found in I. Schapera, "Pre-marital Pregnancy and Public Opinion," *Africa*, 6 (January, 1933), esp. pp. 83-89. Krige reported an illegitimacy rate of 59% in three locations in Pretoria (Eileen J. Krige, "Changing Conditions in Marital Relations and Parental Duties Among Urbanized Natives," *Africa*, 9 (No. 1, 1936), p. 4.) Janisch found that some half of the couples in a Johannesburg native township were "merely living together" (Miriam Janisch, "Some Administrative Aspects of Native Marriage Problems in an Urban Area," *Bantu Studies*, 15 (1941), p. 9.) In Capetown, illegitimacy rates of 26%-41% were reported in the period 1939-1944 (Ruth Levin, "Marriage in Langa Native Location," *Communications From the School of African Studies*, Capetown: University of Capetown, 1947, p. 41. The rate was 30% in Capetown in 1958. For Leopoldville, S. Comhaire-Sylvain reports almost half of the couples in certain native wards were living in concubinage, "Food and Leisure Among the African Youth in Leopoldville," *Communications From the School of African Studies*, N.S., No. 25, December 1950, p. 23. Similar processes of "living together" have been described in the urbanizing area of Kampala (A. W.

Southall and P. C. W. Gutkind, *Townsmen in the Making, East African Studies No. 9*, Kampala: East African Institute of Social Research, 1956, pp. 72, 74, 79, 174-8.

³ Data courtesy of U. S. National Office of Vital Statistics.

⁴ There are, of course, numerous monographs on the African societies that furnished the slaves. Because the Indian groups were, for the most part, destroyed before the anthropologists arrived, New World societies are less well known than the African, but an excellent summary of the known South American (including the Circum-Caribbean) societies may be found in *Handbook of South American Indians*, edited by Julian H. Steward, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin No. 143, 6 vols., 1946-1950.

certain respects and described the bargaining process of consensual courtship outside parental or peer group controls, by which the young girl, unprotected by a kin network, must risk an unstable union and childbirth in order to have a chance at eventually entering a legal union.⁵

That analysis seems to be generally applicable, with only minor and obvious modifications, to the New World south of the Mason-Dixon Line: the consensual union is not the normative equivalent of marriage. Let us now consider the larger structural conditions under which such rates develop, to complement our previous analysis of the processes of individual social interaction which maintain these rates. From such a view, Northwestern Europe, urbanizing sub-Saharan Africa, and the New World exhibit very different patterns.

NORTHWESTERN EUROPE: A RURAL SUB-CULTURE

The relatively high rates in Northwestern Europe were the product of a courtship system which permitted considerable sex freedom to the young, under indirect but effective adult and peer group supervision. The choice of sex partners and of eventual spouse was restricted to a pool of eligibles, who were children of farmers. When premarital conception or even birth occurred, the young man was likely to be known as the girl's partner, and both were likely to be acceptable to both sets of parents.⁶ Illegitimacy was likely to occur mainly when there was some reason for delaying marriage (e.g., unavailability of farm or housing), rather than because either partner or set of parents had rejected the marriage.⁷

⁵ For details of this process, see William J. Goode, "Illegitimacy in the Caribbean Social Structure," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), pp. 21-30. The best analysis of this process in Jamaica is by Judith Blake, *Family Structure in Jamaica*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, forthcoming.

⁶ The most complete description of this pattern, and of its temporal and geographical distribution, is to be found in K. Rob. V. Wikman, *Einleitung Der Ehe*, Abo, *Acta Academiae Aboensis; Humaniora*, 1937. He asserts, however, that the pattern was not found in Iceland.

⁷ And consequently, the rate of divorce for such marriages would be lower than for "forced" mar-

riage. Childbirth outside of marriage was not approved. Rather, the exact timing of the marriage, whether before or slightly after the birth of the first child, was not a focus of intense moral concern.

This pattern was a "native," rural custom, upheld within an integrated social and cultural system of norms which was not integrated with those of the dominant national society. Both the national state and Church opposed this pattern for centuries. It is not, then, a recent development, an index of "disorganization" in an urbanizing epoch. It is a subcultural difference, which has gradually been disappearing as isolated rural cultural and social systems have become more closely integrated with national cultural and social systems.

CLASSICAL ASSIMILATION THEORY

Studies of United States rural-urban migrants and of immigrant populations in the period 1910-1935 outlined a theory of assimilation and a theory of cultural destruction which fit both these cases of migration but which must be modified to fit the other two great cases of culture contact being analyzed in this paper, Africa and the New World south of the Mason-Dixon Line.

These migrants entered as *individuals* and families, so that their initial social systems were undermined. Thus, their cultural patterns could not be maintained by those social systems and were dissolved by an open-class, individualistic, secular culture which gave substantial rewards to those who assimilated. The in-migrating populations were culturally absorbed by the dominant, numerically larger group. In the transitional period, they also became somewhat anomic: they lost their allegiance to their native cultural patterns but for a while felt no great commitment to the norms of the dominant group. To some extent, in various cities⁸ they developed new social sub-

riages in the United States. See Harold T. Christensen, "Cultural Relativism and Premarital Sex Norms," *American Sociological Review*, 25 (February, 1960), pp. 31-39. See also Sidney H. Croog, "Aspects of the Cultural Background of Premarital Pregnancy in Denmark," *Social Forces*, 39 (December, 1961), pp. 215-219.

⁸ Mr. John Western has pointed out to me that there may be considerable difference in the assimila-

systems and kept some of their cultural integration by living in ghettos, from which individuals moved out as they became acculturated into the larger society. Younger and older generations were in conflict, since each was oriented to different cultures. Some people lived as "marginal men," being accepted by and accepting neither culture and neither social system fully.

These in-migrants typically entered society in the United States at the bottom of the class structure, where they were somewhat freed from both the older social controls and the controls of the new country. Some customs were difficult to obey under urban conditions and lost their force. Younger people could use either set of norms as a justification for any desired course of action. Generally, the native-born generation became acculturated, and the grandchild generation was *both* socially and culturally integrated in the larger society.

The cultural and social systems of the in-migrating peoples were undermined by these factors: (1) the dispersion of the immigrating social systems, (2) the political power and prestige standards of the receiving populations, which judged the migrants as belonging at the bottom of the class system, (3) the economic and social opportunities in the new system, which gave rewards to those who became acculturated and punished those who refused to do so, (4) the sheer numerical superiority of the receiving populations, and (5) the irrelevance of older customs to the new social situation.

Transitional populations exhibited, of course, relatively high rates of deviation in such areas as juvenile delinquency, adult criminality, desertion, illegitimacy, and so on. Unfortunately, the studies of that time did not make independent measures of "anomie," or "social disorganization," and correlate them with the usual rates of deviation in various areas of action. However, their findings do add corroboration to the modifications of Malinowski's Principle, offered in the paper on the Caribbean: (1) its foundation is not primarily the pro-

tection which the male gives the child, but the social importance which a kin or family line enjoys; i.e., it focuses on status placement, and (2) the strength of the norm commitment will vary with the importance of the kin line and thus will be higher toward the upper strata where the proportion of important kin lines is greater and where as a consequence illegitimacy rates will be lower.⁹

AFRICAN ILLEGITIMACY: BREAKDOWN OF THE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS

Classical assimilation theory was, then, an outline of the processes by which a given "native" system moves from (a) being internally integrated both socially and culturally to (b) being internally non-integrated or anomic *both* socially and culturally and then (c) eventually absorbed. *Individuals* moved from state (a), their original situation in their native region, to (b), losing their position in their native social system, but gaining one in the new United States social system and, for a considerable time, being part of the older cultural system but not part of the new one. Ultimately, of course, they became integrated in the new social and cultural system. That set of phases must be modified somewhat to fit urbanizing or industrializing sub-Saharan Africa and still more to fit the New World. On the other hand, both the suggested modification of Malinowski's Principle and the anonymous "bargaining" pattern of Caribbean courtship may be applied to the African situation.

The African anomie is like the older United States rural and foreign immigration in these respects: (a) African individuals have been greatly dispersed in the urban locations, (b) native customs are often irrelevant and inconvenient in urbanizing areas, and (c) white standards and customs have higher prestige. It differs chiefly in these respects: (a) the original dominance of the white group was achieved by force, (b) those being assimilated outnumber the dominant group, (c) the African cultures were much more different from that of the dominant group than were the

tion patterns of those who "just landed" in the cities and stayed there and those who deliberately chose to migrate to the city.

⁹ William J. Goode, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 ff.

cultures of the United States in-migrants from that of the United States, and (d) because the Africans face caste barriers, they often cannot obtain substantial rewards for accepting European ways.

Important political consequences flow from these differences—for example, the inevitable creation of independent African nations throughout the continent—but here we shall confine ourselves to the matter of illegitimacy.

The natives in the African urban or industrialized locations have come from tribes in which elders were once powerful, marriages were arranged, and illegitimacy was rare. The skills and knowledge of the elders are not greatly respected in the urban areas, because they are no longer effective. Social control is therefore likely to be reduced to the formal controls of the outside, white society. Although there is some tendency for people from the same tribe to cluster together, as happened in urban ghettos in the United States, such groupings achieve less social control over the individual than do the economic and political imperatives of urban life, and at every turn the native is reminded that both his parental culture and community have no prestige and can be ignored. The kin lines that his family was once at pains to preserve need not be taken seriously. A young man need not worry that a girl's elders of male siblings will bring him to account for a pregnancy outside marriage. A girl need not wait until her sweetheart has saved enough for the bride price; nor is she, unprotected by a kin network, in any position to force him to wait. White governments in Africa, like those in the United States *ante-bellum* South, are little interested in maintaining legitimacy, since by caste definition African legitimacy has no relevance for white legitimacy. By contrast, U. S. white rural or foreign in-migrants could marry native whites so that public agencies were concerned about their legitimacy patterns.

The African couple need not bother with marriage. Indeed, marriage can no longer achieve its former manifest objectives: (1) it cannot maintain a respected lineage for yet another generation, since the kin line itself has lost its importance and because in an urban agglomeration the young man

and woman may well be from different tribes, (2) it does not integrate a tribe by joining two lineages within it, since the tribe itself is disappearing and the tie may not be known to either lineage, and (3) it does not give a fully respected adult status to the young male, since under the Western caste pattern his rank will remain a lowly one, and whatever rank he does achieve will be based on his occupation and not his tribal position or the marriages he enters. Since, finally, both kin and elders have lost the authority on which social control once rested, both the young man and woman can and must make whatever individual role bargain with one another their circumstances permit.

In short, the political and economic dominance of the new urban world has begun to undermine that self-evident rightness of older family values which once guaranteed a legitimate position for the newborn child. The younger urban African generation has begun to feel a less intense commitment to those values, has acquired some opposing values, and in any event does not possess the means with which to achieve the older goals. The anomie of native African urban life in some centers surpasses anything observed in United States immigrant life, because the original culture of the African was more different from the Western culture, to which he must adjust, and his present deprivation is greater than that of the United States immigrant. The latter was already part of Western Culture, so that the cultural destruction he experienced was minor by comparison. The native is at the bottom of a caste system and is no longer part of an integrated social group or cultural system which would permit him to assert his own worth or the worth of the family. Thus, the stigma of illegitimacy becomes minor.

In the urbanizing African areas, the native patterns are neither (1) socially or culturally integrated internally nor are they (2) integrated socially or culturally with the dominant societies. In this transitional period, when the social importance of kin lines has become minimal, illegitimacy is high because of casual liaisons, promiscuity, and delayed marriage. On the other hand, the consensual union has perhaps not

become the *usual* pattern of marital unions. The numerical preponderance of the native population has prevented its being absorbed into white cultural patterns, but modern industrial and economic expansion has prevented the whites from "keeping them in their place," either in the tribes or in the stratification system.¹⁰ As a consequence, the phases of destruction have proceeded rapidly, and perhaps re-integration will occur more swiftly than in the New World.

THE NEW WORLD

The conquest of the New World seems at first to exhibit a very different pattern. First, no case of cultural penetration on so huge a scale can be found since Rome, unless the Islamic conquest be excepted. From Alaska to Tierra del Fuego, aside from a few tribal pockets, the hemisphere is Western in culture. The native cultural systems have been penetrated, undermined, and destroyed, though of course some elements of the older cultures do survive.

Next, two different forms of destruction may be distinguished. One of these, shared by the Southern United States and the Caribbean, was primarily a physical destruction and overwhelming of the native population, together with the substitution of alien slaves, who were so mixed geographically that their social systems were destroyed, and thus they could not maintain their African cultural heritage. These slaves, emancipated for the most part late in the nineteenth century, became Western in culture. Their descendants generally occupy the bottom social strata in the countries in which they were introduced, but in a few countries some occupy higher strata as well.

The second major pattern of destruction, socially more complex, was found on the Latin American mainland, from Mexico southwards. The main attacks were first concentrated on the three great population centers, the Aztec, Mayan, and Inca civilizations. Intent on political conquest and economic exploitation, the Iberians nearly undermined their own aims in the Conquest

period by wiping out from one third to one half of their subjects, through disease, overwork, and underfeeding. At first, they ruled in part through native leaders, but by 1600 they had also removed this top stratum from power. Although the church often opposed those actions, its own efforts at destroying native religions were backed by political leaders, so that even when the Church attempted to save native bodies, it persisted successfully in its goal of undermining native cults and substituting some form of Catholicism. The Iberians, like the whites in Africa, were greatly outnumbered by native Indians until relatively late in the Colonial period, but within a hundred years after the first conquests most of the cultural destruction had already taken place.¹¹ The Iberians imposed their cultural patterns on the natives, unlike the Manchus in China, the Spanish in the Philippines, the Dutch in Indonesia, or the English in India.

Both the assimilation and destruction processes differed somewhat from those in Africa. The U. S. and the Caribbean masters dispersed the (forced, slave) immigrants, but the whites outnumbered them in the United States and did not in the Caribbean. On the mainland, the Indians outnumbered the Iberians, but their social systems were in part undermined by death and partly by forced dispersion and relocation in villages. There was no industrial expansion, and little economic expansion, so that there was little need (in contrast to modern Africa) to use the natives in higher level jobs. Native African customs are essentially irrelevant to the problems faced in urban and industrial situations, but since in the New World the natives or slaves were used primarily in an agricultural setting, their customs might have been maintained had the whites not opposed them. In all these cases, the rule of the whites was based to a considerable degree on face-to-face interaction rather than indirect rule.¹²

¹¹ See the estimates of the proportion of destruction by certain dates, in Sol Tax, *et al.*, *Heritage of Conquest*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952, p. 264. Most of these groups are among the less acculturated peoples in the New World.

¹² Of course, the whites first ruled indirectly in Africa through native chiefs, but this becomes impossible in industrial and urban locations.

¹⁰ The dominance of European nations is also weakened by important changes in the political philosophy of Europeans. They no longer accept colonialism as morally right.

The destruction pattern in these major cases are summarized in the following table:

except Puerto Rico and Cuba, from Mexico southwards, during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The second class, which

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DESTRUCTION AND ASSIMILATION PATTERNS: MODERN U. S. CITIES, MODERN INDUSTRIALIZING SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, AND THE PAST NEW WORLD

Patterns	Immigration to U. S. Cities, Rural or Foreign	Africa, Modern	New World: Pre-1900		
			Ante-Bellum U. S. South	Caribbean	Mainland Iberian Countries
1. Physical Destruction of Acculturating Population	No	Some	Little or none	Some	Considerable at first
2. Dispersal of Social Groupings	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
3. Numerical Preponderance of Population Being Acculturated	No	Yes	No	Yes	Yes
4. Prestige Dominance of Absorbing Population	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
5. Caste System	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
6. Industrial Expansion	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
7. Economic Expansion	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No
8. Relevance of Native Customs to New Situation	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
9. Situation of Culture Contact	Urban	Urban	Rural	Rural	Village and Urban

Before analyzing the consequences of these different patterns, let us comment further on the situation of the mainland natives. Although the Iberian rulers attempted to hold the Indians in economic and therefore political subjection and thus sought to keep a rigid caste line between the two groups,¹³ the emergence of two new classes in the stratification system had considerable effect on the subsequent development of the family system. One new class, eventually to become the top stratum, was the Creoles, those born in the New World as legitimate offspring of Iberian families. As in the colonial United States, these rulers gradually loosened their ties with the Old World and led the revolutions which, in one country after another, freed all these possessions,

began at first from illegitimate unions between Iberians and Indians, were the mestizos, who gradually came to be a majority of the population in most Latin American countries. Likely to be intermediate in both appearance and culture between the rulers of pure descent and the Indians, this class reduced the strength of barriers against mobility.

More important for our understanding of cultural penetration, the mainland caste patterns permitted mainly only one form of mobility, what is called "passing" in United States white-Negro relations. This pattern is still found in the so-called caste relations between Ladinos and Indios in Guatemala¹⁴ and in the Andean Highlands of Bolivia, Ecuador, and Peru. That is, the individual could enter the Iberian world, for the most part in urban areas, only by becoming Iberian in all observable cultural characteristics, by ceasing to be Indian. He might starve as easily being all Iberian as being Indian, but without becoming Iberian the way upward was entirely closed. This structural pattern permitted some upward mobility without softening the low

¹³ The Creoles faced similar restrictions also: only four viceroys in Spanish America up to 1813 were American born, and these were sons of Spanish officials; 601 of the 706 bishops and archbishops came from Spain. Moreover, the restrictions had become more severe in the eighteenth century (C. H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America*, New York: Oxford University, 1957, p. 209). It can be argued that the first social revolution in Latin America was the 1910 Mexican Revolution (Robin A. Humphreys, *The Evolution of Modern Latin America*, New York: Oxford University, 1946, pp. 119-122).

¹⁴ Melvin M. Tumin, *Caste in a Peasant Society*, Princeton: Princeton University, 1952.

evaluation of Indian culture and without eroding the social barrier between Indian and Iberian.

In the New World, then, the native social and cultural systems were undermined by the steady economic and political pressures of a closed-class system, rather than by the open-class, expanding industrializing system of the modern world. The destruction was greatest among the slaves of the ante-bellum South, less in the Caribbean, and least on the Iberian mainland. Southern slaves were "seasoned" in the Caribbean first and were further dispersed on arrival in the U. S. Indians were able, especially in areas of less economic and political interest to the Iberians, to maintain some part of their social and cultural integration for many decades, and a few tribes still exist in remote regions, such as the upper Amazon. An index of the disorganization of Caribbean slaves is their failure to reproduce,¹⁵ so that slave-running continued to be profitable almost until the end of the slavery period. In general, the illegitimacy rates of former slave areas are still higher than the non-slave areas; and on the mainland countries rimming the Caribbean, the coastal provinces where Negro slaves were introduced have higher rates than the interior.

The caste barriers were most severe in the ante-bellum South, somewhat less severe in the Caribbean non-Iberian islands, and least severe on the Iberian mainland. As Tannenbaum has shown, the Iberian treatment of even Negroes was less rigid than the treatment by any of the other New World settlers.¹⁶

The Iberians also made the most conscious effort to indoctrinate their subject peoples, the Indians, in Western norms, especially those relating to religion. However, in all these cases the inculcation of the new, Western values proceeded slowly and inconsistently. It is difficult to socialize an individual unless he is assured of acceptance as a full member of the social system, but

the Iberians refused to accept the Indian anywhere until recently. *Village* controls were weak, because norm commitment to either native or Iberian values was weak and because the local social system was truncated: the locus of economic and political power was in the Iberian world, and the religious system accepted the Indian as parishioner, not as priest. Rewards for becoming Iberian were low or non-existent. For example, the Indian might be exhorted to work hard, but he would be subjected to economic exploitation if he acquired any wealth. Learning to read would help little, since there were few positions open to him if he became literate. The Iberian pressures were directed toward keeping the Indians docile, not toward transforming them into Iberians.

In the slave areas, primarily the United States, Brazil, and the Circum-Caribbean, neither master nor slave had any concern about illegitimacy, since the slave kin line had no social importance: slavery undermines the status of the male as family head, more than that of the female,¹⁷ and it is precisely the male elders who would be (in an independent society) the guardians of the family honor. It was to the interest of the conquerors or masters to prevent the development of native systems of social control, whether family or community, for therein lay a potential threat to their dominance. Even in the twentieth-century United States South, whites have opposed the "pretensions" of Negroes in seeking certificates of marriage and divorce. Slavery was abolished only late in the nineteenth century, and we could expect that where the caste barriers against Negroes were stronger, especially outside the Iberian regions, concern about Negro legitimacy among both whites and Negroes would develop only slowly.

ILLEGITIMACY AND THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

Our review to this point suggests that it is the *community*, not the individual or the family, that maintains conformity to or

¹⁵ For an analysis of one attempt to solve this problem, see "The Problem of Slave Labor Supply at the Codrington Plantations," by J. Harry Barnett, *Journal of Negro History*, 37 (April, 1952), pp. 115-141.

¹⁶ Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen*, New York: Knopf, 1947.

¹⁷ Ruth Landes, "Negro Slavery and Female Status," in *Les Afro-Américains*, Institut Français d'Afrique Noire (Dakar), 1952, pp. 265-266.

deviation from the norm of legitimacy. The community defines and confers legitimacy. The individual decision, his or her role bargain, determines whether illegitimacy will be risked, and both family and individual may lose standing if illegitimacy results, but there is little stigma if the community itself gives almost as much respect for conformity as for non-conformity. Lacking integration, the community cannot easily punish the deviant. In any population, the maintenance of a high individual or family commitment to a given norm or conformity to the norm, is dependent on *both* the commitment of the community to the *cultural* norm and the strength of its *social* controls. In the New World during the Colonial Period and the nineteenth century, as in contemporary industrializing sub-Saharan Africa, both native community controls and the commitment to the norm of legitimacy were weak. Correlatively, neither conquerors nor masters were concerned, since such deviations had little effect on their primary interests, power and economic exploitation.

The failure of community social integration means, then, a high rate of illegitimacy, since (a) it is likely to occur along with a weakening of norm commitment and (b) even if norms are not greatly weakened, controls are weak. However, the nature of this community integration or non-integration must be *specified*. We cannot fall back on the frequent alternative term, "anomie." The classical definition of "anomie," *normlessness*, is not adequate because such a state is so extreme: almost no cases of it, perhaps none at all unless we accept the examples of Nazi concentration camps and of United States prisoners of the Chinese during the Korean War, have been described by modern investigators. Here we can more usefully think of anomie or non-integration as a matter of *degree*. However, sociological theory has not agreed on a clear meaning for "non-integration." Moreover, most analysts have viewed New World villages as "communities," i.e., as integrated. Thus, it is fruitful to specify the *several* structural points where "integration" may or may not exist.

We are asserting that for a period of about two centuries most of the slave and peasant populations of the New World lived

in relatively stable, *non-integrated* settlements, kept from integration by United States, Iberian, and other European rulers. They were kept from either being integrated into the Western cultural and social systems or establishing independent, *internally* integrated cultural and social systems of their own. Here, of course, we necessarily go beyond the available data, but some of the specific descriptions can eventually be tested.

The points of non-integration can be outlined as follows:

I. These villages were not internally *culturally* integrated. This statement also holds, of course, for the U. S. Southern Negro population, only a few of whom ever lived in separate communities. Without even a geographical basis, cultural integration is most difficult to achieve. This general assertion means:

- A. There was a commitment, though relatively weak, to a wide range of norms from *both* cultures: religious elements from both cultures, allegiance to both languages, songs and music, or local and "national" loyalties.
- B. There was relatively low norm commitment to various *instrumental* norms, such as literacy, Western languages, skills in economic activities, etc., which might have been useful in fulfilling *other* Western norms to which there was some commitment.
- C. Conditions for the achievement of norms in the villages were difficult (contradictions of norms and conditions).
 1. Costs of church marriage were high.
 2. Masters or conquerors were little interested in facilitating formal marriage.
 3. Costs of the *fiesta*, or reception, after marriage were high.
 4. There were few means for economic expansion, literacy, and even learning Church beliefs precisely.
 5. Conquerors and masters opposed native or slave efforts to pretend to the status honor enjoyed by rulers.
 6. European goods were urged on them, but prices were high.
 7. Responsibility for debts or labor was encouraged, but caste prohibitions against mobility were strong.¹⁸

¹⁸ See an examination of these contradictions by George Kubler, "The Quechua in the Colonial World," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, pp. 374-375 *et passim*. Indians in Peru were not even allowed to own horses, though there were many of them: Bernard Mishkin, "The Contemporary Quechua," *Ibid.*, p. 427.

II. These villages were not internally *socially* integrated. Of course, where there is very low norm commitment, social integration may be low: there is little to be integrated *about*. Again, the Southern Negro population obviously fits this description, which means:

- A. White rulers prevented the development of local leadership or self-rule, thus hindering community controls.
- B. Natives were not generally permitted to participate in Church activities as priests or officials (the *cofradías* may be viewed as a partial exception, but they were organized to ensure proper contributions to the Church).
- C. Any local community pressures, decisions, or rules were subject to being overridden by the whites.

III. The village *cultural* patterns were not integrated with "national," white patterns. This means:

- A. The two patterns were differently oriented toward various important norms: the value of working and owning agricultural land, the value of living in the city, nationalism-patriotism, or belief in the details of Church doctrine.
- B. Whites viewed the native or Negro patterns as alien, rather than as merely lower class or a variant of the dominant culture.
- C. Whites viewed the native or Negro people as requiring acculturation or training (even when they wasted little energy on the task), not as having a different culture of equal validity.

IV. The villages were not *socially* integrated with the dominant social system of the whites or the larger social system of the nation.

- A. Natives did not generally feel part of the nation and had little interest in the changing political fortunes of the elite.
- B. Relatively few inter-community relations existed.¹⁹
- C. The native was not viewed as a "citizen" everywhere in the nation, and many barriers to free movement existed.
- D. The economic system was locally oriented, for the most part.
- E. The wishes of the local villages were little taken into account in national planning or action.

All four structural connections have been specified, in order to avoid needless debate as to whether these populations were

"anomic," or "non-integrated." The outline is thus partly a summary of the preceding analysis but emphasizes the special character of the non-integration of these populations, which also applies *mutatis mutandi* to the Negro population of the Old South in the United States. The caste pattern of India is different in that the local village is *internally* both socially and culturally integrated; and it is culturally integrated with the larger Indian cultural pattern, in that the local caste norms and patterns are viewed as a legitimate part of the national moral fabric. It seems doubtful, however, that until recently such local village castes were *socially* integrated with the national social system except through a lengthy series of intermediate steps. Under such circumstances, social control remains strong locally and so does the commitment to the norm of legitimacy.

Consequently, in the New World from the Old South in the United States to Cape Horn, the non-whites assimilated only slowly into the social and cultural patterns of the West. They accepted the superiority of these patterns or at least did not assert the contrary. However, the barriers to integration into the nationally dominant patterns and the forces arrayed against local social or cultural integration failed to yield the rewards which are necessary for effective acculturation, so that the process did not accelerate in most countries until the twentieth century.²⁰ Consequently, both low norm commitment to legitimacy and weak community controls maintained relatively high illegitimacy rates.

PHASES OF ASSIMILATION: RURAL-URBAN ILLEGITIMACY DIFFERENTIALS

Although the foregoing outline of non-integration in the New World seems both theoretically and descriptively correct, it goes far beyond available data from individual community studies, which would test whether any large proportion of existing or historical villages were in fact non-integrated. However, some further conclusions

¹⁹ Mishkin (*ibid.*, p. 448) reports this of the Quechua today. The "isolation" of New World villages south of the Rio Grande has been commented on by most observers.

²⁰ It is worth noting that Alexander von Humboldt also commented on the relation between the Indian's anomie and lack of motivation (see Haring, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202).

can be derived and tested in this analysis, so that we are not left merely with speculations.

The first of these concerns the *phases* of non-integration. If the line of theory pursued so far is correct, then in the conquest period in the Iberian world the illegitimacy rates first began to increase in the urban centers where contact was first made and the primary undermining of the Indian patterns began. Thereafter, however, because urban centers were the source of Westernizing forces and the urban Indians were more likely to assimilate, the norm of formal marriage was more likely to be fol-

lowed. In addition, of course, the cities contained Iberians who would usually follow this norm. Thus, while the rural areas were kept in a relatively non-integrated state or forced gradually into it as Iberian dominance spread, the urban regions moved toward Western norms.

We should, therefore, suppose that in most cases the urban illegitimacy rates would now be *lower* than the rural rates, even though the modern rapid urbanization of Latin America may be creating all those disruptions of social and cultural patterns which have elsewhere been recorded when rural peoples enter an urban milieu.²¹ In

TABLE 2. DIFFERENCES IN ILLEGITIMACY RATES BETWEEN CAPITALS AND REMAINDER OF COUNTRY, MAINLAND INDEPENDENT COUNTRIES SOUTH OF THE RIO GRANDE

Political Unit	Year	Federal Capital Major Urban Province	Per Cent	Remainder of Country (23.8% for whole)	Highest Rate in Any Department or Province Per Cent
Argentina	(1957) ²²	Federal Capital	10.4	27.0	60.3 (Formosa)
Brazil	(1952) ²³	Capital Territory	12.4	15.0 (Total for Country as a Whole)	
Chile	(1958) ²⁴	Valparaiso Province	16.3	25.2	30.2 (Coquimbo)
Uruguay	(1943) ²⁵	Montevideo	18.4	27.5	66.7 (Florida)
Paraguay	(1946) ²⁶	Capital	62.4	56.5	(No Figure Obtainable)
Colombia	(1956) ²⁷	Cundinamarca Section	20.2	30.1	69.1 (Córdoba)
Ecuador	(1947) ²⁸	Pichincha Province	22.3	34.7	84.9 (Los Ríos)
Peru	(1953) ²⁹	Callao Department	30.9	43.9	59.6 (Loreto)
		Lima & Callao Departments	46.4	43.0	54.7 (Lambayeque)
Venezuela	(1954) ³⁰	Federal District	47.2	58.3	74.9 (Yaracuy)
Nicaragua	(1947) ³¹	Managua Department	57.5	62.3	70.4 (Chinandega)
Honduras	(1957) ³²	Francisco Morazán	68.4	69.3	80.3 (Colón)
Costa Rica	(1957) ³³	Province San José	14.2	28.1	49.1 (Limón)
Mexico	(1956) ³⁴	Distrito Federal	12.9	23.9	27.9 (Sinaloa)
El Salvador	(1955) ³⁵	San Salvador			
		Urban Area	30.8	59.3	67.6 (Santa Ana)
Guatemala	(1956-57) ³⁶	Urban Areas	64.5	76.1 (Rural Areas)	
Panama	(1958) ³⁷	Urban Areas	64.5	79.6 (Rural Areas)	

²¹ I am of course aware of the difficulties in interpreting illegitimacy rates in countries where recording procedures are undeveloped: (1) Official urban rates might be higher than rural rates, because recording procedures are more thorough. (2) In some rural areas, those classed as "Indios" may be generally ignored by officials. (3) Where social services are available in the city, as in San Juan, Puerto Rico, some illegitimacies may be recorded there, although the mothers come from rural villages. (4) The disorganization of urban slums may lead to much promiscuity and thus *override*

any of the factors presented in my analysis (e.g., Caracas, Venezuela). (5) It is difficult to obtain true "rural-urban" breakdowns, because the political sub-units (provinces, departments, sections) of Latin American nations typically contain both an urban center and a surrounding rural countryside and the data are recorded for the sub-unit as a whole. Nevertheless, all of these except the last (whose effect is unknown) would bias the official rates *against* my hypothesis. Consequently it seems safe to use the data. Many analysts have claimed that consensual unions, and therefore illegitimacy,

the following table, the rural and urban rates are presented.

are more common in rural areas. As we shall see, however, that assertion is correct only for mainland, independent Latin America. (See, for example, Kingsley Davis and Ana Casís, *Urbanization in Latin America*, New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1946, pp. 39-40.)

Included under "illegitimate" are those born of a consensual union, whether or not the offspring are "recognized," as well as those born outside of any continuing marital relationship. These are official rates.

²² Dirección Nacional de Estadística y Censos, Argentina, 1959 (Personal Communication).

²³ *Anuario Estadístico de Distrito Federal 1949-53*. Rio de Janeiro, Departamento de Geografía e Estatística, 1955, p. 46. Also *Demographic Yearbook Questionnaire, 1952*, Statistical Office of the United Nations, New York.

²⁴ Comité Nacional de Estadísticas Vitales y Sanitarias de Chile, 1959 (Personal Communication).

²⁵ *Anuario Estadístico de la República Oriental del Uruguay*, Año 1943, Volumen I, Montevideo, Imprenta Nacional, 1943, p. 8. The *Boletín de Estadística*, Intendencia Municipal de Montevideo, Dirección de Censo y Estadística, Año 41, 1943, gives figures which yield a rate of 24.4% for Montevideo. I do not know whence the discrepancy.

²⁶ *Anuario Estadístico de la República del Paraguay 1946-47*. Asunción, Imprenta Nacional, 1948, pp. 39-40.

²⁷ *Anuario General de Estadística 1956*. Colombia, Departamento Administrativo Nacional de Estadística, 1957, pp. 33-34.

²⁸ *El Trimestre Estadístico del Ecuador*. Dirección General de Estadística y Censos del Ecuador, 1947, p. 30.

²⁹ *Anuario Estadístico del Perú, 1953*. Lima, Ministerio de Hacienda y Comercio, 1956, pp. 76-77.

³⁰ *Anuario Estadístico de Venezuela, 1954*. Caracas, Ministerio de Fomento, 1957, pp. 82-83, 108-109.

³¹ *Anuario Estadístico de la República de Nicaragua, Año 1947*. Managua, Publicaciones del Ministerio de Hacienda y Crédito Público, 1953, p. 61.

³² Figures obtained from Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, República de Honduras, C. A., 1959 (Personal Communication).

³³ *Anuario Estadístico de Costa Rica, 1957*. San José, Impreso en la Sección de Publicaciones, 1958, p. 25.

³⁴ Dirección General de Estadística, 1959, México (Personal Communication).

³⁵ *Anuario Estadístico 1955*. Volumen 1. San Salvador, Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1956, p. 37. El Salvador, although in the predicted direction, may be changing: the *Anuario Estadístico* for 1949 yields different figures: San Salvador 72.2% illegitimate, remainder of country 65.1% illegitimate. (*Anuario Estadístico de la*

As can be seen, the conclusion is validated, except for Paraguay. If our theory of phases in disintegration and reintegration is correct, this means that Paraguay, the socio-economically least developed of independent Latin American countries, has not yet entered the phase in which urban rates have begun to drop below rural ones. It should do so in the future. Correspondingly, of the seven independent Iberian countries with very high rates (over 50%) all are little developed, and still show very low differentials between urban and rural rates.³⁸ Finally, in the more advanced countries, such as Uruguay and Mexico, the differences should diminish in the future.

The mainland dependent countries do not fit this phase pattern (British and Dutch Guiana, British Honduras), nor do the Caribbean island countries. Of the three Caribbean countries that have been independent for more than half a century, Haiti, Cuba, and the Dominican Republic, we have been able to obtain rural-urban breakdowns for only one, the Dominican Republic, where the rural rate is slightly higher but has become so only recently (65.1%-63.9%, 1958).³⁹

In the Caribbean political units, the rural rates are almost the same as the urban and are very slightly lower in over half of them. This region differs from the mainland Iberian lands primarily in these characteristics: (1) almost all their population is descendant from slaves. Caste restrictions were more severe against Negroes than on the mainland against the Indians; (2) almost all of them have been dependencies until this century, so that there has been little basis for national integration; (3) most im-

República de El Salvador, Tomo 1, San Salvador, Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, 1953, p. 81.) In 1955, all the urban areas had a rate of 57.5, the rural, 56.5).

³⁶ Figures obtained from Dirección General de Estadística y Censos, República de Guatemala, C. A.

³⁷ Excludes Indians in purely Indian territories. Personal communication from Dirección de Estadística y Censos of Panama.

³⁸ The apparent exception, El Salvador, had a rural-urban differential in 1955 of only 1% (42.5%-43.5%). The table compares the extreme of urban San Salvador with the rest of the country.

³⁹ Figures supplied by Dirección Nacional de Estadística.

portant, the phases which apply to the mainland Iberian countries do not apply here, since the initial disorganization *was as intense in rural as in urban regions*. The Indians were everywhere destroyed. The slaves who replaced them were no longer members of a community, and the bulk of them was used in agriculture. We should not expect the Caribbean, then, to follow all the phases of the mainland development, though we predict that the urban rates will become lower than the rural. Several of the differentials are given in the following table. The United States Southern Negro rates are also included, as following the Caribbean pattern.

legitimacy rates has a Spearman-Brown coefficient of correlation of only .50 with the rank order of urbanization as measured by the percentage of the national population living in the major metropolitan areas.

In the following table, most of the New World political units are ranked by the degree to which their formerly slave or Indian populations have been brought into the dominant cultural and social systems. As can be seen, with few exceptions the conclusion holds: in general, where the formerly slave or Indian populations have been more fully integrated into the national cultural and social systems, the national illegitimacy rates are lower.

TABLE 3. NEW WORLD RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENTIALS IN ILLEGITIMACY RATES, SELECTED MAINLAND DEPENDENCIES AND CARIBBEAN COUNTRIES ⁴⁰

	Illegitimacy Rates	
	Urban	Rural
U. S. South, Non-White (1957)	18.6-32.7%	18.6-32.1%
Puerto Rico (1956)	34.6 (San Juan)	27.4 (Rest of Country)
British Guiana (1955)	43.8	33.6
Trinidad and Tobago (1956)	47.3	47.4
Dominican Republic (1958)	63.9	65.1
Surinam (Dutch Guiana) (1951)	43.0 (Paramaribo)	38.0 (Rest of Country)
Jamaica (1954)	73.1 (Capital)	71.5 (Rest of Country)
British Honduras (1956)	52.9 (Capital District)	49.8 (Rest of Country)
Barbados (1955)	65.2 (Capitol Parish)	59.3 (Rest of Country)

ILLEGITIMACY AND DEGREE OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION

A second conclusion may be drawn from our earlier analysis. The New World countries have succeeded in varying degrees in integrating their formerly Indian or slave populations into the national cultural and social systems. Since their illegitimacy rates are in part a function of this variable, countries which have moved *further* toward such an integration should have *lower* rates. The degree of this type of integration is greatly dependent on the extent of industrialization and urbanization, since these variables require more interconnections between different parts of a nation and offer rewards to the individual for entering the cultural systems. Thus, it becomes both easier and more desirable to conform to the norm of legitimacy. However, the rank order of the il-

ILLEGITIMACY AND THE INTERNAL INTEGRATION OF COMMUNITIES

A third deduction from our earlier analysis can be tested: because of the wide variety of geographical and sociological factors in New World history, some communities have either continued to be *internally* integrated both socially and culturally (but *not* integrated culturally or socially with the *national* systems) or else re-achieved such an integration after the initial dissolution. Such communities would then be the main source of individual or family honor and rank, and would be able and willing to ensure conformity to the norm of legitimacy. Thus, their illegitimacy rates would be low. Their *formal* official rates might be *high*, since the national registration system will recognize only the legal, civil ceremony; but their social rates would be low, since few people will enter a union without a public marriage ceremony of some kind in which both family lines participate. Such communities might be found, for ex-

⁴⁰ Rates calculated from figures furnished by Caribbean Commission, and from U. S. National Office of Vital Statistics.

TABLE 4. NEW WORLD POLITICAL UNITS ACCORDING TO THEIR DEGREE OF NATIONAL INTEGRATION AND ILLEGITIMACY RATES ⁴¹

Degree of National Integration	Illegitimacy Rates (Percentages)	Date
A. Higher Integration		
Brazil	15	1952
Chile	16	1958
Uruguay	20	1954
Mexico	22.5	1956
Costa Rica	25	1957
B. Medium Integration		
Argentina	28	1957
Colombia	28	1957
Cuba	30	1939
Puerto Rico	28.5	1955
U. S. Old South, Negro	19-32	1957
C. Lower Integration		
Ecuador	36	1956
Peru	43	1955
British Guiana	34	1957
Paraguay	48	1955
Surinam	34	1953
French Guiana	65	1956
Venezuela	57	1955
Guatemala	70	1957
Panama	71	1956
Jamaica	72	1954
Martinique	48	1956
British Honduras	48	1957
D. Not Classified		
Dominican Republic	55	1956
El Salvador	59	1953
Honduras	65	1957
Nicaragua	62	1945

⁴¹ All rates were obtained from the *United Nations Demographic Year Book Questionnaire* for the respective dates, except the figure for Puerto Rico, which was obtained from the Caribbean Commission. It was not possible to obtain recent Cuban data and many smaller political units have been omitted.

Bolivia has been eliminated because any birth is recorded as legitimate if the couple has been living together for two years (personal communication from Dirección Nacional de Estadística). As noted later, in Guatemala many births are classified as illegitimate because no civil ceremony preceded them, though other types of marriage ceremonies may have occurred, so that its real rate is lower than its official rate.

With respect to the independent variable, there is reason to believe that this classification would for the most part be conceded by New World specialists. Several such specialists have already accepted it.

The bases for the classification are these: (1) The maintenance of caste barriers, which remain strong in Guatemala and the Andean Highlands and are weak in Brazil and Mexico. (2) Extent of ethnic homogeneity. Uruguay and Costa Rica, for example, are very "Spanish" or "European," and in Mexico, Cuba, Chile, and Puerto Rico a thorough-going

ample, in the Andean Highlands of Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, or the northwestern highland region of Guatemala and even here and there in the Caribbean. We should find low real rates of illegitimacy in such villages and high rates in villages where such integration seems weak. In the following table, various places which have been the object of community studies are classified by illegitimacy rates and by the degree of integration, i.e., the extent to which the village forms a self-validating social and cultural system.

As can be seen, we find relatively low rates of illegitimacy in specific communities which have achieved, or re-achieved, an internal social and cultural coherence, an acceptance of themselves as the source of prestige.⁴² Individuals in such communities

mixing has occurred, in contrast to Guatemala. (3) The status of political dependency. (4) The existence of national programs for education, literacy, economic development (Puerto Rico, United States, Argentina). (5) The existence of large pockets of geographically and socially isolated populations (Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru). (6) Comparison of comments by New World experts, with respect to how much the natives care about or take part in national political affairs or how long various forms of labor exploitation have continued (e.g., indentured labor was abolished in Jamaica in 1917). Too much weight may have been given to the relatively unintegrated Andean populations of Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador. If so, they would move to "medium" integration, and their reported illegitimacy rates would "fit" better. For relevant material on the degree to which the populations of these countries are integrated into the national life, see: Harold Osborne, *Bolivia*, London: 1954, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 1954, pp. 93-99; W. Stanley Rycroft, *Indians of the High Andes*, London: Routledge and Kegan, 1952, pp. 211-219, 231-236; Mary Patricia Holleran, *Church and State in Guatemala*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1949, pp. 244-245; Melvin Tumin, *Caste in a Peasant Society*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952; James Preston, *Latin America*, New York: Odyssey, revised edition, 1950, pp. 44, 46, 69, 71, 76, 120, 124-125, 193-195, 212, 213, 221, 316, 352, 531, 619, 644, 662, 708, 710; Olen E. Leonard, *Bolivia*, Washington: Scarecrow, 1952, pp. 90-101; Thomas R. Ford, *Man and Land in Peru*, Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida, 1955, pp. 111-116.

Doubtless, many observers would classify all those in D. as "lower integration" units. I have no objection but simply have been unable to obtain sufficient data on them to be certain.

⁴² Various observers have remarked on the lesser ease, openness, and friendliness of the Andean peasants who work on a *fincas* or *hacienda* compared with those who have continued to live on communal

TABLE 5. ILLEGITIMACY AND INTEGRATION IN SELECTED NEW WORLD COMMUNITIES ⁴⁸

	High Rate of Illegitimacy	Low Rate of Illegitimacy*
High Integration:		Tzintzuntzán (Mexico) Cherán (Mexico) Cruz das Almas (Brazil) Tusik and Quintana Roo (Mayans of Mexico) Orange Grove (Jamaica) Nyame (British Guiana) Saucio (Colombia) Santa Eulalia (Guatemala) Peguche (Ecuador) Otóvalo (Ecuador)
Low Integration:	Rocky Roads (Jamaica) Sugartown (Jamaica) Moche (Peru) Tobati (Paraguay)	Chichicastenango (Guatemala)

* "Low" illegitimacy means, of course, relative to the level prevailing in the respective countries. Specific rates cannot be calculated from the descriptions.

lands; Rycroft, *op. cit.*, p. 82; Harry Tschopik, "The Aymara," *Handbook of South American Indians*, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, p. 501; Osborne, *op. cit.*, pp. 211-12.

⁴³ The relatively highly integrated communities here outnumber the less well integrated, because anthropologists seek out the "unspoiled," the "culturally unified" village.

In the citations which follow I have quoted the pages which are most relevant for the classification presented. To classify a village as nonintegrated appears to be more difficult than to show its integration, possibly because there are many different ways in which a village may not be internally integrated. Indices such as these seem relevant: (1) how many of the young adults are attracted to city life and ways, (2) how well the elders still control the young, (3) how important is a "good name in the village," (4) how effectively non-legal, informal relationships may decide local issues, (5) how large a portion of the village participates in ceremonies and how much of village life centers around such ceremonies. Tzintzuntzán: *Empire's Children*, Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. No. 6, Mexico: Nuevo Mundo, 1948, pp. 1, 2, 11 ff., 23, 33, 247 ff.; Cherán: *Cherán: A Sierra Tarascan Village*, Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. No. 2, Washington: 1946, pp. 1-2, 12, 176 ff.; Cruz das Almas, Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. No. 12, Washington: 1948, pp. 1-13, 127-143, 197 ff.; Tusik and Quintana Roo: Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1941, Chaps. III and VIII; Orange Grove and Sugartown: Edith Clarke, *My Mother Who Fathered Me*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1957, pp. 78-79, 82-84, 90-102, 127; Nyame: Raymond T. Smith, *The Negro Family in British Guiana*, New York: Grove, 1956, pp. 181-182. Saucio: Orlando Fals-Borda, *Peasant Society in the Colombian Andes*, Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida, pp. 37, 204-207, 211; Oliver LaFarge, *Santa Eulalia*,

Chicago: University of Chicago, 1947, pp. 21-44; Else Clews Parsons, *Peguche*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1945, Chap. 1, pp. 54-60; Otóvalo: John Collier and Aníbal Buitrón, *The Awakening Valley*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1949, pp. 31-32, chap. on "Marriage"; Rocky Roads: Yehudi A. Cohen, "The Social Organization of a Selected Community in Jamaica," *Social and Economic Studies*, 2 (1954), pp. 104-33, and "Four Categories of Interpersonal Relationships in the Family and Community in a Jamaican Village," *Anthropological Quarterly*, 28 (October, 1955), pp. 121-147; John Gillin, *Moche*, Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology, Publ. No. 3, Washington: n.d., pp. 30, 93 ff.; Tobati: Elman R. Service and Helen S. Service, Chicago: University of Chicago, 1954, pp. xix-xxiii, 206-9, Chaps. 9 and 10; Chichicastenango: Ruth Bunzel, New York: Augustin, second edition, 1952, pp. 1-14, 25-30, 109-117.

A number of communities have not been classified with respect to their integration, because each might require a separate analysis and debate: Marbial (Remy Bastien, *La Familia Rural Haitiana*, México: Libra, 1951); Moca (Clarke, *op. cit.*); August Town, Perseverance, Better Hope (Raymond T. Smith, *op. cit.*); Quiroga (Donald D. Brand, *Quiroga*, Smithsonian Institution Institute of Social Anthropology Publ. No. 11, Washington: 1951); Capesterre (Mariam Kreiselman, *The Caribbean Family: A Case Study in Martinique*, Columbia University, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 1958); Tepotztlán (Oscar Lewis, *Life in a Mexican Village: Tepotztlán Restudied*, Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1951) and the several areas in Puerto Rico which are described in Julian Steward, *op. cit.* Commonly, authors refer to their village as a "community" and treat it generally as a coherent unit, while giving explicit details which would deny any such integration. Considering the island Caribbean studies, I would at present view only Morne-Paysan (M. M. Horowitz, *Morne-Paysan*, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University,

are participants in their social systems and presumably also committed to their cultural norms. If prestige is earned within the system, then a family line or the community as whole will insist on conformity with the norm of legitimacy. The communities which form a self-validating social system have low rates, and the communities which are less integrated have higher rates.

CONCLUSION

The present paper has attempted to relate cultural penetration, cultural and social anomie, and illegitimacy rates, by considering the main areas of high rates: North-western Europe, urbanizing Africa south of the Sahara, and the New World south of the Mason-Dixon Line. In the first case, the community retains control, and though some children are born outside of wedlock, they are likely to be only technically and temporarily illegitimate, not socially illegitimate. In urbanizing Africa, by contrast, Western culture has undermined the native cultural and social systems, and the Western community has not created conditions which permit the native to become a full member of the Western social and cultural system.

This situation is also observable in the history of the Western Hemisphere among both United States rural and foreign immigrants, where however the later phases in such a massive process of penetration have also taken place. The parallels among the United States and Latin American mainland, the Caribbean, and urbanizing Africa are striking, if we allow for the differences which the twentieth century political situation has imposed on Africa. At the same time, apparent differences suggest theoretical reformulations of the assimilation process. We see a conquering people who first rule indirectly through native leaders, and then directly, in Africa and the New World south of the Rio Grande; considerable destruction of native populations and forced migrations;

1959), Orange Grove and San José as "relatively integrated" (Eric R. Wolf, "San José: Subcultures of a 'Traditional' Coffee Municipality," in *The People of Puerto Rico*, Julian Steward, et al., Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, pp. 171-264. Quiroga and Tepotztlán may not have high illegitimacy rates because they are now somewhat integrated into the Mexican national social and cultural systems.

destruction of the native cultures, but the erection of quasi-caste barriers to prevent the full achievement or even complete acceptance of Western norms by the native; the undermining of the *local* community as the source of prestige; bars to entrance into the conquering Western community; and the dissolution of native family systems, without granting the rewards for conformity to the new Western family norms. We have also outlined the differences among these cases.

Behind the New World, however, are four hundred years of assimilation, so that it has been possible to see what happens after the initial period of cultural penetration. It is in the cities that full assimilation of the peasant is possible, and under the later industrialization that assimilation is even useful to the upper strata. Thus, it is in the city that the Indian peasant may become not only culturally but also socially assimilated, while in the rural areas, the *encomiendas*, and villages he has taken over Western culture with less commitment, because he has been denied a part in the Western social community, with its concomitant rewards and punishments. Thus, it is in the urban areas that the rule of legitimacy begins to be imposed more stringently by the community, and the mestizo becomes willing to pay the price of marriage, such as the wedding feast which serves as both a community blessing and a ritual of passage.

In a parallel fashion, those countries in which strides have been taken toward integrating their populations into the national community will have lower illegitimacy rates.

And, finally, where the village becomes the cosmos, usually in isolated or mountainous areas, so that the individual in it is participating in both the cultural system and the social system of a genuine community, there again we find a stronger commitment to the norm of legitimacy, and greater community and family concern about marriage. The dominant value system does not set norms which the individuals cannot achieve; there is less contradiction between norms, so that there is a stronger commitment to them; and the coherence of the community permits more effective sanctions to enforce conformity to the norm of legitimacy.

RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

THE REPUTATIONAL APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF COMMUNITY POWER

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It is both interesting and significant to note that Raymond Wolfinger's critique of the reputational method for the study of community power¹ has received no reply as yet from the many persons implicated. As an interested bystander,² I am concerned that what is, or should have been, Mr. Wolfinger's major thesis is placed by him in a context of critical arguments that are to me inappropriate and occasionally incorrect.

Wolfinger announces the purpose of his paper to be that of exploring "the utility of the reputational method for the study of local political systems." Such an inquiry, he maintains, involves two questions: "(1) Are reputations for power an adequate index of the distribution of power? [and] (2) Even if the respondents' perceptions of power relations are accurate, is it useful to describe a political system by presenting rankings of the leading participants according to their power?" (p. 637). Certainly, we can say that reputations for power are indeed an adequate index of the *perceived* distribution of power in the local community. To ask, then, if this is useful to describe a political system, depends intimately on the purposes at hand. Thus, for example, if we can ascertain that the way in which people perceive the power structure of the local political system affects the way in which they behave towards and in that system, then surely we are dealing with very meaningful and indeed very useful considerations.

Wolfinger goes on to discuss first what he calls the "problem of ambiguity." "There are," he says, "two major causes of ambiguity in-

herent in asking respondents to name in rank order the most powerful members of their community: the variability of power from one type of issue to another; and the difficulty of making sure that researcher and respondent share the same definition of power" (p. 638). Mr. Wolfinger argues that "an individual's political power varies with different issues." Therefore, he concludes, "general power rankings are misleading." Even accepting his premise, I do not feel that it follows that such general power rankings are misleading, or at least necessarily misleading. There is no reason why, for some purposes, we cannot deal with an individual's power across all issues. While I am not at all certain what such a general power ranking would yield, this is after all an empirical question. To dismiss such a consideration at this stage of our study of community power would be poor research strategy.

The second problem of ambiguity, that of the researcher and respondent sharing the same definition of power, is not a matter of special concern here, but is an issue of all social science research. I seriously doubt that the issue of the validity of questionnaire or interview responses is, in this area of study, somehow more critical or more crucial than in other areas of social research.

Wolfinger's second set of considerations he calls the "prevalence of misperception"—the question of the accuracy with which people perceive the community power structure. From one perspective, as I indicated above, accuracy may be irrelevant for certain research purposes. From another perspective, accuracy may be purely a matter of method and procedure. Clearly, however, if the researcher relied *solely* on the polling of random or purposive samples in the community, he might derive a scientifically inaccurate picture of the community power structure. But surely other means of research are neither logically nor empirically excluded to those who use the reputational approach. If it is true that those who have used the reputational method have employed it as the sole source of their data, then this may well be a deficiency in their research design but not in the reputational method *per se*.

The third facet of Wolfinger's argument, although this is clearly a different order of problems, is once again one of validity. This

¹ Raymond W. Wolfinger, "Reputation and Reality in the Study of 'Community Power,'" *American Sociological Review*, 25 (October, 1960), pp. 636-644.

² William V. D'Antonio and Howard J. Ehrlich (editors), *Power and Democracy in America*, Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961.

time, however, he is not concerned with the validity of the *respondent's depiction* of the community power structure, but rather the validity of the *investigator's depiction* of the community power structure. In effect, Wolfinger raises the question: How do we know that the depiction of the community power structure which we have drawn through the use of our reputational method is a correct one? I shall try to answer this question later.

In the final section of his critique which he labels "the inutility of influence rankings," Wolfinger goes on to present a variety of criticisms, some cogent and some clearly irrelevant. I shall touch upon only his major comments here. First, he asserts that even if you assume that reputations for power did, in fact, constitute an adequate index of power, the resulting list of powerful individuals would nevertheless not be useful without additional research. This, he argues, would make the reputational method largely redundant; furthermore, even this utility would be very limited. If I have understood this assertion correctly, Mr. Wolfinger is saying that if you want to do more than what this method will yield, namely, an adequate index of power, then you will have to do more research. I, for one, cannot construe this as a limitation on a single method of research.

Wolfinger's second concern in this section, that of the procedure for securing nominations of powerful persons, is again an old methodological point of no special relevance here. He is primarily disturbed by the yet unresolved dilemma whether a researcher in an interview situation should use structured or open-ended questions and how, if the latter, these open-ended responses are to be coded, quantified, and treated statistically. Implicitly, he is again raising the question of validity which I have reserved for my final comment.

His third point is directed to what I hope

is today a straw man in current community research, namely, that it is incorrect *ipso facto* to equate the highest ranked individuals in a community with a power elite. It should be noted that committing such a fallacy of interpretation is neither an error exclusive among reputational researchers nor is it inherent in the use of this method.

Finally, Wolfinger, in making his last and major point, brings us back to the question of validity. He says, "The model of the political process resulting from the reputational method assumes an equation of potential for power with the realization of that potential" (p. 644). Wolfinger, in his employ of an issues approach for the study of the community, is concerned with the exercise of power. Those whom he criticizes, with their focus upon reputation, are concerned with potential power. If it can be demonstrated that this power potential, as determined by the reputational method, is indeed exercised, then presumably Wolfinger, and those of us equally concerned, would accept the validity of this approach. Without such demonstration, I must concur with him that the reputational approach may be telling us nothing or very little about the objective structure of power and decision-making in the local community.

It remains to be demonstrated that persons who have a reputation for power, in fact, successfully exercise their power, and that their power cuts across issue areas to some extent. The relationship between power as a potential for control—as assessed by reputation or position—and power as control itself is clearly a complex one and not given to easy demonstration. Nevertheless, neither the difficulties of such demonstration nor the past inadequacies of research designs employing the reputational method are sufficient to warrant its abrupt dismissal from the repertory of the sociologist.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN CHINA

To the Editor:

Before the descent of the "iron curtain," the condition of Chinese sociology was certainly flourishing. Every government and private university of any importance had a department of sociology and the lesser universities and colleges had at least courses in sociology. Dr. Sun Pen-wen gives a list for 1947 of 143 professors, associate professors and lecturers in Sociology.¹ Professor Lung Kwan-hai says that by 1947 some 150 students had already graduated from university sociology departments and at that time there were more than 1,000 students in the various departments of sociology throughout the country. At the same time there were more than 1,000 books of sociology and closely related subjects to be found in the bookstores; reviews and magazines carried numerous articles and reports published in Chinese. The Ministry of Social Affairs was progressively increasing its work in social surveys and research in social matters; the Chinese Sociological Association was attracting evermore interest and members. This ever growing interest both by government and educators in the field of sociology encouraged university students to take up its study.

It was at this point that sociology in China was completely wiped out. As the communist regime took over the China mainland, many organizations, institutions, religions, and groups which did not fit into their scheme of things were given a year or two of grace before being eliminated or rooted out. Not so with sociology. In all universities and colleges on the China mainland departments of sociology were immediately abolished and even courses of sociology were denied an existence. Former professors of sociology were assigned such courses as "Introduction to the Social Sciences" or "Political Science" and they were made to undergo long hours of study to catch up on Marxism or undergo "brainwashing." This was the lot of Dr. Sun Pen-wen.² In the first few years after the

communist takeover there was some mention of Dr. Sun Pen-wen, Ch'en Ta and Fei Hsiao-tung, but later there was no further news of Dr. Sun and occasional news of Ch'en Ta and Fei Hsiao-tung which seemed to indicate that they were cooperating with the Party. A most important point in this development is the stark fact that practically all sociological books have been destroyed along with the data that had been collected with great effort. This writer has searched the bookstores of Hong Kong, Tokyo, and Taipei for sociological books and reviews which were formerly obtainable on the China mainland but has only been able to find two or three of the works of Dr. Sun Pen-wen.

At the point when the National Chinese Government moved from the mainland to Taiwan in 1949, Chinese sociology had truly reached its nadir. On the mainland it had been mercilessly destroyed and rooted out. At the same period in Taiwan there was no department of sociology in either the colleges or universities and only a few scattered courses in sociology were being taught as electives in other departments. No sociology textbooks nor any type of book of sociology could be found in the bookstalls; even popular articles on sociological topics in reviews and magazines were comparatively few. A few sociology professors from the China mainland joined forces with the Taiwanese professors, who were Japanese trained, to try to revive Chinese sociology. As time went on conditions improved greatly, for the universities asked for more and more courses of sociology to be taught in various departments. The Law and Commerce College started a department of sociology, the first in Taiwan, and it has already graduated several classes of sociology majors. Four years ago, the Tung Hai University, Protestant sponsored, started a department of sociology and has just graduated its first class. The National Taiwan University, which has had many courses of sociology taught in other departments, opened a department of sociology in the fall of 1960. The Taiwan Normal University has a depart-

for a set of his works, he wrote, "I have come to understand that all my books are only good for burning and hence I have none to send you. I have also learned that I formerly neglected to study the works of Karl Marx which I am now doing many hours a day. Please don't write again."

¹ Sun Pen-wen, *Principles of Sociology*, (She-hue-hsueh Yuan-li), 2 vol., Commercial Press, Hong Kong and Commercial Press, Taipei. See Appendix.

² In reply to a letter to Dr. Sun Pen-wen asking

ment of Social Education which is geared to preparing teachers for the secondary schools of China. The professors of sociology in these various universities, with the exception of the Normal University, favor American sociology and the curricula and content of courses follow American sociology. In the Normal University, the head of the department is a Chinese return student from France and hence favors French sociology but this does not hold for the other members of his department. Among some of the professors there remains a certain amount of Japanese and German influence but it is not very pronounced.

Textbooks of sociology and treatises on sociological matters in Chinese are all too few. Recently Hsieh Cheng-fu, head of the department of Social Education in the Normal University has published a textbook in Chinese, "Sociology," in two volumes. "Principles of Sociology" and "Social Psychology," both by Dr. Sun Pen-wen and each one having two volumes, have been republished by the Commercial Press in Taipei. Professor Lung Kwan-hai, head of the new department of sociology of the National Taiwan University, has published "Outlines of Sociology" and two other works. The writer has a two volume work in English with Chinese sociological terminology at the foot of the pages. Besides these works there are a number of books on special topics such as family relations, the role of the mother in the family, labor law, population, etc.³ Likewise, there are more and more articles on social problems appearing in the magazines and reviews but for the most part these are either popular in nature or written by non-sociologists.

Although the Ministry of Social Affairs has not yet been reactivated, the government has announced that it will be in the near future. The Bureau of Social Affairs on the provincial level and the Joint Commission of Rural Reconstruction are both interested in having trained sociologists for research and social surveys. As a result, the young departments of sociology in the universities will become more and more popular because there will be openings for future professional work. Thus it seems that the practical and empirical character of American sociology which first attracted Chinese intellectuals will once again do so and in an ever increasing degree.

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³ Lung Kwan-hai, "She-hui-hsueh," (Sociology) in "Chung-Hwa-Min-Kuo K'o-hsueh-chih," (Chinese National Science Annals), pp. 43 ff.

SPECIOUS GENERALITY AND FUNCTIONAL THEORY

To the Editor:

Francesca Cancian's paper on "Functional Analysis of Change"¹ proposes that "functional analysis" be identified with a certain logical structure of causal argument. The logical structure is that some "state G" can be maintained by either of two causal variables, and that when it is not maintained by one variable then it tends to be maintained by another. Any set of causal relations having this structure may be called "functional." She then shows that certain kinds of analyses of change can, and do, have this logical structure.

In fact, she shows that one analysis which the author (Leach) explicitly identifies as non-functional has the specified structure. A little cutting and trying would show that Marx's arguments on the growing bitterness of class conflict in capitalist society are also "functional" in this sense. The "state G" is "growing bitterness" (it is explicitly permitted for the "goal state" to be a stable pattern of change), the variable which tends to undermine this state is the political and ideological activity of the bourgeoisie, and the "compensating variable" which maintains the "state G" is the political organization of the proletariat in response to the attacks. Virtually any argument about the laws of development of a system can be "fitted" in the same way (as can other elements of the Marxian theory).

What I would like to question here is whether such logical exercises are social theory. To make the challenge more convincing, I would like to compare the substantive sociological results of this logical exercise with the results of a work which gets rather short shrift in the paper, that of Radcliffe-Brown. The following passage is quoted:

Such a view implies that a social system . . . has a certain degree of unity. . . . We may define it as a condition in which all parts of the social system work together with a sufficient degree of harmony or internal consistency, i.e. without producing persistent conflicts which can neither be resolved or regulated. (*Structure and Function in Primitive Society*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1952, p. 181.)

Part of the comment on this is: "It seems very doubtful that functional unity, in this latter sense [with unspecified G's], characterizes many social systems. In addition, treating a social system as a functional unity without specifying the G's so unified results in vague analysis. . . ."

One of the main places where Radcliffe-Brown

¹ *American Sociological Review*, 25 (December, 1960), pp. 818-827.

uses this strategy of analysis is in the explanation of lineage succession. Briefly the argument is: (*Ibid.*, pp. 32-48.)

1. Whenever economic life is organized by corporate administration by families of a family estate, marriage in ego's generation creates important conflicting claims of the two sides of the marriage in ego's children. Both the mother's and father's family might claim rights to support from the estate when it passes to ego's children, or claim rights to succeed them to the estate.
2. Lineage systems provide a systematic and successful way of adjudicating these claims, and provide virtually the only way.
3. With the equilibrium hypothesis quoted above, these facts imply that economic organization by family estates gives rise to lineage systems.

From this theory a number of consequences immediately follow, which can be verified or refuted by the facts. For example:

1. Lineage organization should be much more developed in landed gentry classes than among landless tenants or agricultural laborers.
2. Modern society, being organized around occupations rather than property (more particularly, occupations which are not appropriated by families; in India and some other societies, "occupations" form part of a "family estate"), should discourage lineage organization.
3. The business elites, particularly in family firms, should have a much greater proliferation of lineage structures than entertainment or academic elites, since family estates are irrelevant to success in the latter groups.
4. Hunting and gathering societies in very unproductive wasteland, whose members must collect food over a much larger area than can be defended as an estate, should have poorly developed lineage systems (e.g., the Eskimo, the Bushman of Southwest Africa, or the gatherers on the Nevada desert).

Whatever may be the logical status of Radcliffe-Brown's "G states," he has developed a powerful theory of the conditions under which lineage systems develop. It is not crucial to my point whether or not the theory is true. What is crucial is that it is neither a commonplace nor a logically true proposition. It is a general statement about the world, and it would be *worth knowing* whether it were true. It applies, if it is true, to a wide range of facts from different societies. We can, of course, explain changes by it; if the theory is correct, an increase in the proportion of men earning wages and salaries, as opposed to profits and rents, would explain a decline in the importance of lineages.

The development of the discipline depends more on the development of such elegant, powerful, and economical theories, which explain a wide range of data, than on fitting these theories into various logical structures. If Radcliffe-Brown did not specify his G states, perhaps it

is because he was more interested in social theory than in the philosophy of science.

The current trend in what is called "theory" in sociology is to develop "schemas" and other arbitrary logical structures; the paper in question is an extreme example of this trend, so extreme that there is no evidence of interest in what Radcliffe-Brown used his "wrong" schema for, and whether or not his logical mistakes have any influence on whether the facts fit the theory. The empirical references in this "theory" tend to be "illustrations" of the "schema." They show that some commonplace, or somebody else's hard won knowledge of how some social process works, can be fitted into the schema.

This sociologically sterile logical analysis has so far preempted the name and prestige of "theory," that virtually any piece of work that tries to explain a set of phenomena has to be called "research," as *opposed* to theory. I'm afraid that if Durkheim published *Suicide* today, we would admire it more for conforming to the voluntaristic "theory" of action than for being a brilliant theory of suicide.

ARTHUR L. STINCHCOMBE
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REPLY TO STINCHCOMBE

To the Editor:

I agree with Mr. Stinchcombe that "the development of the discipline depends . . . on the development of . . . elegant, powerful, and economical theories, which explain a wide range of data." This is the goal of all science. Our disagreement apparently concerns the best strategy for attaining this goal.

Many types of work are essential to constructing a valid theory: specification of fruitful theoretical assumptions, the logical relations among them, and the manner of making deductions from them; identification of the classes of empirical data which fit the theoretical concepts; collection and analysis of data; development of research techniques. It is very difficult to decide, on rational grounds, which of these lines of work will produce the best results and how much time should be spent on each. I do not know whether, as Mr. Stinchcombe maintains, too much work is presently being done on the formal, logical aspects of theory construction. However, it is clear to me that much of the confusion over functional analysis and change can be resolved primarily by examining the logical implications of a precise, formal definition of functional analysis.

Functional analysis or structural-functionalism, as generally defined, includes two separable parts: (1) a theory with assumptions about empirical phenomena; (2) a purely logical model. The theoretical part consists largely of the assumption of functional unity. This assumption in its most general form is clearly false. Sometimes social systems maintain internal harmony; sometimes they do not. The assumption of functional unity may lead to some empirically valid and interesting statements, e.g., family property and development of lineage groups are related in such a way as to prevent conflict. However, it also leads to some empirically false statements, e.g., technological change and class structure are related so as to prevent conflict. The assumption clearly needs extensive modification before it can be accepted.

My paper was primarily concerned with the second aspect of functionalism—functional analysis as a logical model. The goal of the paper was to define the properties of this model, with special attention to change, and to present a few examples of the empirical application of the model so as to suggest its usefulness. The paper did not deal with theory, in Mr. Stinchcombe's sense, because it did not attempt to specify the sets of empirical phenomena that might be fruitfully viewed as a functional system.

How could such a paper contribute to the development of the discipline, assuming the goal of the paper was successfully accomplished? Insofar as the definition presented is what so-

ciologists have in mind when discussing functionalism, several problems about functionalism that have consumed much time and journal space can be resolved. First, the modes in which functional analysis can incorporate change can be logically derived from the definition together with a definition of change, thus resolving much of the debate on the conservative bias of functionalism. Second, the limitations inherent in the logic of functionalism itself can be distinguished from the limitations introduced by the additional assumptions used by different functionalist theorists. Thus a researcher need not reject the possibility of viewing his data as a functional system merely because he disagrees with Marx's position on class conflict or Parsons' position on value consensus. Moreover, the clarification of the logic of functional analysis encourages specification of the logical relations involved in other types of analyses.

Almost every piece of research involves theoretical relationships among variables or events. Obviously, insofar as these relationships are unclear, the hypotheses derived from the theory will be unclear or even contradictory, and the inferences drawn from the data will be incorrect. The logical relations involved in any theory must therefore be carefully specified, especially in any theory which deals with the complex relationships with which functionalism has traditionally been concerned.

FRANCESCA M. CANCIAN

Chiapas, Mexico

REVIEW ARTICLE

THE SOCIAL THEORIES OF TALCOTT PARSONS *

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Sociology today has many burdens and not the least of these is a persistent and somewhat humiliating question: Are the theoretical excursions of Talcott Parsons worth taking seriously? The issue is not so much intellectual disagreement over contrasting views of man and society. It is rather a case of the Emperor's clothes. Is his complexly textured raiment really there? Or is it all (or largely) an illusion, a conjuration, a bad and costly joke?

No one who truly honors the life of the mind will lightly dismiss so broad an effort, so dedicated a quest. We need have little patience with the philistine demand that abstract thought be easy reading or that theoretical statement have a ready and unambiguous relevance to the immediate operations of inquiry. There is and must be a broad tolerance for the speculative impulse in social science, including its less lovely products. On the other hand, whatever its breadth, that tolerance properly has some limits.

The problem of arriving at a reasoned assessment of Parsons' thought is greatly complicated by a remarkable obscurity of structure and style. Even those accustomed to abstract philosophical discussion find it a considerable chore to decide what is being said on any page, let alone also to assess its intellectual worth. I suspect that a great many sociologists, otherwise sympathetic to the need for general theory, have simply abandoned the effort.

For this reason the present volume is especially welcome. It includes nine papers prepared for a two-year discussion of Parsons' work by a group of faculty members at Cornell. A tenth paper is by Parsons, giving "the point of view of the author." The group includes a philosopher, Max Black; two psychologists, A. L. Baldwin and Urie Bronfenbrenner; four sociologists, E. C. Devereux, Jr., H. A. Landsberger, W. F. Whyte, R. M. Williams; an

economist, Chandler Morse; and a political scientist, Andrew Hacker. The papers, though inevitably uneven, are serious scholarly efforts. They are sympathetic in tone, often quite candid in judgment.

A large part of the book is devoted to a restatement of Parsons' central ideas. And a number of the essays include quite favorable assessments. But I find in these statements a peculiar and disturbing flavor. What is considered valuable in Parsons is seldom his distinctive contribution. The yea-saying, it often turns out, is to sociology itself. Thus Devereux refers sympathetically, and at some length, to Parsons' conception of psychological, social, and cultural systems as emergent, having some measure of autonomy, offering distinctive subject-matters for inquiry. Or we learn (p. 35) that Parsons makes "his working postulate" the idea that "human beings are born in society but not of it" and therefore "Parsons is guided to analyze in detail not only the sources of deviance and strain but more particularly the mechanisms of social control and socialization by which a social system manages to hold deviance in check and enlist the motivations of its participants." Perhaps I have been dreaming, but I thought that these general ideas, and much else restated here, belonged to the name and nature of sociology.

In the same vein, the economist, Chandler Morse, concludes (p. 141) "that Parsonian theory will stand as a massive landmark in the intellectual development of the social sciences" because, despite much that is dubious, there is "a hard central core of meaning that can and should be preserved." What is this core? "For Parsons it is the principle that society as a whole achieves self-regulation through the application of several distinct rationalities—each of which is the cumulative product of learning through experience—to the solution of certain peculiarly social problems, and through the institutionalization of a vast number of behavioral rules which in part embody these rationalities and in part complement them."

Now Morse expresses considerable doubt

*Max Black, editor, *The Social Theories of Talcott Parsons: A Critical Examination*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1961. x, 363 pp. \$6.75.

about whether Parsons has cogently stated what these rationalities are and how they relate to the structural characteristics of social systems. But he is intrigued by the possibility that such rationalities may some day be known: "Yet the hypothesis that there is an identifiable set of such elements promises to introduce far more rigor than hitherto into the non-economic social disciplines. It also points the way to a much needed modification of economic theory; for it permits account to be taken of the limiting effect of non-economic rationalities upon the exercise of economic rationality without destroying the content of the latter. . . ."

What shall we make of such statements? Have we ever really doubted that action may be roughly classified according to whether it is governed by (a) the calculation of means required for the achievement of Ego's discrete goals; (b) Ego's commitment to the maintenance of a "going concern" of which he is a part; (c) Ego's commitment to self-maintenance? This sort of classification is roughly comparable to what Parsons is trying to do. As modes of action, the categories can be restated as "rationalities." As a general idea they are nothing new. And surely we do not need an elaborate apparatus—let alone one so opaque—to permit account to be taken of non-economic limits on economic rationality while recognizing the latter's secure place in human experience.

Where Parsons' specific formulations are considered critically rather than merely restated, they do not come off well. Max Black gives us a preview of what a careful philosopher might do to help the sociological amateur. His attack is on Parsons' "systematic ambiguity." It is all too brief. W. F. Whyte flatly rejects Parsons' analysis as a valuable guide to organization theory. Landsberger, on the same subject, is considerably more sympathetic, though he does see "grave deficiencies" in Parsons' theory. Bronfenbrenner (p. 211) finds it "difficult to discern much that is fundamentally new [in Parsons' theory of identification] beyond the terminology." Baldwin points out (p. 186) that Parsons fails "to provide the personality with any reasonable set of properties or mechanisms aside from need-dispositions, and gets himself into trouble by not endowing the personality with enough characteristics and enough different kinds of mechanisms for it to be able to function." In this way, Parsons really impoverishes personality theory instead of enriching it.

One paragraph by Baldwin is especially worth quoting. "It is important," he says on p. 184, "to distinguish between a man's comments and

his theories. With Parsons there are almost two different people involved. His discussion of concrete issues, such as the role of the doctor in American society, or the general discussion of the American family at the beginning of *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, is often clear, cogent, perceptive and exciting. When the theorist begins to talk, however, his style becomes more difficult, his sentences awkward, and his meaning unclear. Theoretical language frequently sacrifices liveliness and grace for accuracy of communication, but it must be accurate. We have seen several examples of how Parsons' theoretical language is far from precise. It is full of shifting meanings and vague antecedents. For a theory this is a fatal defect. Parsonian theory cannot be a good theory until rewritten in a coherent, consistent fashion."

A similar point is made by Whyte, who concludes (p. 267) by suggesting "that the contribution of Talcott Parsons will eventually not be in the area of systematic theory building but rather in the creation of a number of provocative ideas which can be used by many students, whatever their theoretical orientations."

One of the deficiencies of this volume, valuable as it is, is a failure to confront directly the special office of sociological theory. I am convinced that more light must be shed on this basic question if we are properly to distinguish the sterile and the fruitful, the quick and the dead. In the case of Parsons, it seems likely that a difficult but useful sorting-out process is needed. We must distinguish, for example, among the following efforts: (a) the restatement of fundamental sociological postulates, e.g., that group membership decisively affects subjective orientations; (b) the formulation of a purportedly distinctive "perspective," e.g., that of functional analysis; (c) the explication of existing insights regarding the elements of social relations, e.g., the "pattern variables," or regarding social processes, e.g., role differentiation; (d) the application of broad sociological categories to special areas, e.g., in the field of administrative organization; (e) the development of fairly specific hypotheses about various aspects of personality, culture, or social organization. This hardly does justice to the range of efforts made by Parsons and some of his collaborators. But at least this much should be clarified. In the volume at hand, there is no systematic effort to do this job, although some steps are taken in that direction.

Perhaps the first of these categories is most important here. Sometimes it seems as though Parsons has set out to write an advanced textbook in general sociology. This is a much-

needed enterprise, but it is not the same as "developing a theory." Its job would be primarily explication and refinement. It would purport to present the funded understanding of the discipline; and it would deal directly with the ambiguities that plague us. We would be invited to compare the formulations of the writer with the insights of a Durkheim, Weber, or Mead, as well as with our own assessments of more recent work; and the material would be presented so as to make this comparison readily possible.

If Parsons had accepted the role of explicator, rather than of discoverer, his contribution to our common enlightenment might have been more significant. But he has been uncertain about this for a long time. *The Structure of Social Action* is a first-rate book, but it is above all an exercise in explication. The overriding frustration of much in Parsons' work is its familiarity and plausibility. It leaves one about where one was before, assuming acquaintance with a fair amount of the literature on which Parsons' work is either based or which it somehow parallels. Yet it is presented as fresh "theory."

Does Parsons have a distinctive perspective, a "philosophy" of sociology? I think not. His writing has become so diffuse and eclectic in recent years that it is really difficult to identify him with a special point of view. He seems to have the kind of "system" in which everything can be absorbed and restated. Parsons' view of functionalism is certainly open to the criticism made by Kingsley Davis (*American Sociological Review*, December, 1959), who has rejected the idea "that there is a special method or body of theory called functional analysis which can be distinguished from other methods or theories within sociology and social anthropology." This is not to deny a relatively greater emphasis on and self-consciousness about "functional requisites" and "social systems." But, in the end, every sociologist interested in the persistence or transformation of social structures must be committed to some such logic. Again, in his treatment of functionalism, Parsons might have done better to show us what we were doing all along—at least in dealing with certain problems—than to present his analysis as a new theoretical system. In that event, he would have had to accept more clearly the responsibility for clarification instead of contenting himself with the obscurities of prophetic pronouncement.

In Devereux's contribution, much is made of Parsons' adoption of a "postulate of voluntarism" with its corollary that "action" is governed by subjective orientations and is therefore in

some fundamental sense a structure of meanings. At one point (p. 19) Devereux suggests that this idea is a way of specifying the conditions of "adequacy" of a sociological theory. I think this is quite correct. Here, as at many other points, Parsons is primarily interested in the postulates of sociology. But this is something very different from a theory of action. The latter would presumably be something less inclusive than the whole of sociology. A true theory of social action would say something about goal-oriented or problem-solving behavior, isolating some of its distinctive attributes, stating the likely outcomes of determinate transformations. We could then argue about it and try to test some of its implications for, say, a possible link between utopianism and opportunism. Not only does Parsons fail to present a substantive theory of action, he also fails to use "action" and "meaning" as special guides to inquiry. In Parsons' writing there is no true embrace of the idea that structure is being continuously opened up and reconstructed by the problem-solving behavior of individuals responding to concrete situations. This is a point of view we associate with John Dewey and G. H. Mead, for whom, indeed, it had significant intellectual consequences. For them and for their intellectual heirs, social structure is something to be taken account of in action; cognition is not merely an empty category but a natural process involving dynamic assessments of the self and the other. Among the consequences of this view is a strong emphasis, often an over-emphasis, on the uniqueness of situations and on social perception as the universal governor, forever the independent variable. Whatever else he may be, Parsons is not an interactionist in any meaningful sense. His usage is innocent of distinctive commitment.

I believe I share a general view that the closest approach to a distinctive and significant major contribution in Parsons' work is his treatment of the "pattern variables." This is the well-known list—somewhat fluctuating, currently heavily obscured—of alternative modes of orientation, sometimes presented as "dilemmas," e.g., affectivity-affective neutrality, specificity-diffuseness, universalism-particularism, instrumental-expressive. Just what the logical status of these polarities is remains highly uncertain. To see them as forced choices, at least for the individual, seems clearly wrong. (Parsons' recent statement that, for any pair, both cannot be maximized, puts the matter more acceptably.) Perhaps most simply, Parsons has been trying to identify the elements repeatedly found in certain important and pervasive social relations. What Parsons did was to take

some broad and familiar polarities—*Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, culture-civilization, ascription-achievement, status-contract, primary-secondary—and make explicit some of the more abstract elements that were crudely but strongly suggested by the men who insightfully wrote about these matters. Some of this was, of course, very close to the surface, as any reader of MacIver's textbook treatment of "culture and civilization" must know. However that may be, there seem to be real potentialities in this work of Parsons, especially for the development of general propositions regarding the reciprocal valences of elementary modes of orientation.

Reference to the conventional polarities helps to explain something offered as a puzzle in this book (p. 288): Where does Parsons get the particular pattern variables he chooses to stress when, on abstract grounds, so many others might be chosen? At least for his earlier and more comprehensible formulations the answer

is sufficiently clear. He begins with long-identified types of social phenomena and explicates some half-hidden meanings. This is sound procedure, but the fact that it is not openly set out helps to muddy the waters. There is much that is good here, much that is confused beyond apology or excuse; oft-repeated claims of rigor, formal statement, and logical derivation are, to speak plainly, simply absurd.

I reluctantly conclude, not without pain, that Talcott Parsons shares with the rest of us a grievous fault: when we dabble in general theory we literally don't know what we are doing. We need to look again at the logical foundations of good sense in scientific discourse. We need to sort out the variety of functions performed by theoretical statement, for otherwise we can make no reasoned assessments. Above all, we must somehow deal with the crisis of significant assertion—a condition that besets Parsons' work but, in various degrees, touches us all.

BOOK REVIEWS

Variations in Value Orientations. By FLORENCE ROCKWOOD KLUCKHOHN and FRED L. STRODTBECK. With the assistance of JOHN M. ROBERTS, A. KIMBALL ROMNEY, CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, and HARRY A. SCARR. Evanston, Ill.; Elmsford, N.Y.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1961. xiv, 449 pp. \$7.75.

In recent decades anthropology has shown an increasing interest in elaborating the fundamental or overarching concerns of a culture, variously described as ethos, culture pattern, themes, ways of life, basic philosophies, value orientations, existential propositions, etc. Sociology, on the other hand, has placed greater stress on the significance of statuses and group memberships for the formation of opinions, attitudes, and perspectives. No doubt these differences in emphasis are largely attributable to the fact that anthropology has been more interested in culture while sociology has been more concerned with social structure. Nevertheless, both fields have in some measure been impoverished by neglecting the foci of attention of the other.

Variations in Value Orientations represents an attempt to remedy some of this neglect by applying the sample survey method of sociology to the study of certain values, basic assumptions, and interests of members of five small communities. This study is based on several assumptions: that all societies face common human problems and that, as a consequence, certain value orientations, assumptions, or perspectives with regard to them will develop; that it is important to study not only the dominant value orientations but also the variant value orientations which are likely to appear in even the most homogeneous societies; and that it is possible to make systematic, quantitative comparisons of value systems among societies by using the same instruments to study the same problems.

In this book, four value orientations have been selected for investigation: the orientation of the relationship of man to nature, time orientation, activity orientation, and the relational orientation. A series of questionnaire items was developed to measure each of these value orientations, and the research instrument was administered to about 20 respondents in each

of five communities—a Spanish-American village, a Navaho Indian band, a Zuni pueblo, a Mormon village, and a community of Texas homesteaders. In addition, ethnographies of the five communities are presented which add substance to the statistical results.

Given the initial theoretical emphasis upon intracultural and intercultural variation, it is a disappointment to find that intracultural comparisons are almost completely omitted. The only status factor considered is that of sex, and even male-female value orientation comparisons are not presented for every community. With regard to intracultural variation, then, the bright promise of the early theoretical section of the volume remains unfulfilled in the later empirical presentation.

The heart of the investigation is a research instrument consisting of 22 items designed to reflect the four value orientations mentioned above. While several items are used as indicators of each value orientation, no internal analysis of the data is done to indicate that the respondents are answering the questions referring to the same orientations within similar frames of reference. This is a serious drawback, particularly in cross-cultural analysis, because it increases the danger that differences in responses among cultural groups may be due to nuances of language. The authors are, of course, aware of this limitation and contend that they are interested in the nature of these value orientations within different institutional areas. This interest, however, does not appear to be reflected in their analysis of the data, for little stress is placed upon differences in the same value orientations in, say, the religious, economic, family, recreational, and other "behavior spheres." Such data could, indeed, have represented a signal contribution.

Despite these limitations, this volume represents an important stride forward in comparative social research. The theory is of a high order, the questionnaire items are ingenious, and the statistical analysis is imaginative. One beneficial effect of its emphasis upon the heterogeneity of values, even in the simplest societies, is to make it more difficult in the future to make glib statements about the attitudes or ethos of an entire society. In addition, this

study represents an impressive demonstration of the importance and feasibility of making meaningful, comparable, and systematic cross-cultural analyses of values, assumptions, or perspectives. At the same time, the results demonstrate to the reviewer, as they apparently did not to the authors, the limitations of this method. Divorced from the ethnographic analyses, the statistical results have a rather bare and unenlightening quality. We do not really know what the differences in value orientations mean until these value orientations are placed within the context of the ethnographic analyses. Nevertheless, this investigation represents a long step forward down a trail which cross-cultural studies must inevitably follow.

MORRIS ROSENBERG

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A Grammar of Human Values. By OTTO VON MERING. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. xx, 288 pp. \$4.50 (Paper, \$3.50).

Sociologists should welcome the rigor, precision, sophistication, and breadth of this twenty-first monograph from the Harvard project on "A Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures." Von Mering's volume is not confined merely to a report on his comparative description and analysis of the values of Texas Homesteaders and Mormon villagers through their verbal responses to the Navaho Indians near Rimrock in the American Southwest. It also details the implementation of this "over-all purpose" in the development of a theory of valuation, a four fold taxonomy of values, and a unique group discussion technique for gathering data.

For the author, individual and social values necessarily presuppose a voluntaristic process of personal valuation within a means-ends context. It is a process of cumulative preferential trending. Under the delimitations imposed by the individual's biographically determined situation and the situation of action, valuation shifts quickly from initially open possible values to more restricted problematic and probable values, to two apparently counter-poised values, and finally, under the weight of a dominant positive preference, to a terminating "act of decision and a personal commitment to a definitive value or specific set of values in conduct." Von Mering offers elaborate psychological and philosophical documentation. But despite the manifest resemblances with, if not anticipations in, the views of Cooley, Mead, Thomas, and MacIver, the theory is conspicuously devoid of allusions to earlier American sociology.

Although the title conveys patent optimism about the universal applicability of the taxonomy of values, the author concedes that his categories reflect more the world of possible values in the Christian-Capitalistic West, and especially the subcultures of two American Southwestern communities, than values extant elsewhere. He presents four general realms of simplistic, comprehensive, isolative personal, and inclusive interpersonal values, each with nine subcategories and each allegedly "logically and experientially distinct" from the other three. Von Mering separates the first pair from the second by their general, theoretical, and axiomatic quality and by their particularistic-universalistic features. But the categories can also be recombined into simplistic-isolative and comprehensive-inclusive alignments or value systems which are said to be "intended to demonstrate, not prove the particularistic-universalistic dimension of all valuative acts." (Sic) Nevertheless, tests of validity and reliability seem to augur a favorable judgment of the taxonomy.

Empirical findings indicate that Homestead and Rimrock differ significantly statistically from each other in the simplistic and comprehensive realms but are identical in the isolative personal category. Rimrock villagers are outstandingly multidimensional in value pattern whereas the Homesteaders evidence a unidirectional value drift.

ROSCOE C. HINKLE

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Inner Conflict and Defense. By DANIEL MILLER and GUY E. SWANSON. In collaboration with WESLEY ALLINSMITH, ELTON B. MCNEIL, BEVERLY B. ALLINSMITH, JUSTIN ARONFRED, BETTY J. BEARDSLEE, and LEONARD M. LANSKY. New York: Henry Holt & Co. (Holt-Dryden Book), 1960. x, 452 pp. No price indicated.

The work of Miller and Swanson and their students represents one of the very few comprehensive research efforts derived jointly from sociological and psychoanalytic perspectives. Theoretically, it offers an important continuity with the work of Kardiner on basic personality structure and that of Fromm on social character, although interestingly there is no explicit reference to these earlier integrative efforts. Methodologically, however, it goes beyond the work of two decades ago by utilizing a variety of the newer psychological and particular social research technologies for the purposes of data collection and data analysis.

The over-all objective of their research was to test a number of hypotheses about the

social origins and the child-rearing practices that predispose children to favor particular methods of resolving conflict (defenses). The research concerned itself both with the relationship between social-class membership and child-rearing practices (disciplines, rewards, weaning, toilet training) and with the relationship between child-rearing practices and such mechanisms of defense as denial, turning against the self, repression, etc. The relationship between child-rearing practices and the selection of expressive styles (direction of aggression, motoric and conceptual orientation, etc.) was also investigated.

For most of the studies reported in the book, the subjects were male public school students in the seventh to ninth grades, of intact families. Efforts were made to obtain about the same proportion of subjects belonging to upper-middle, lower-middle, upper-working, and lower-working classes, although this did not prove quite feasible. High school students and college sophomores were also studied. Data on child-rearing practices were obtained through interviews with the mothers. Inferences about defenses and expressive styles were made mainly on the basis of projective tests (story completion, etc.).

Of sixteen chapters, five are devoted to the exposition of theoretical positions, hypotheses, and methods. The other eleven focus on particular issues investigated. As a result of the great variety of interrelations explored and the many specific findings, a chapter summarizing the results would have been helpful to the reader. The nearest the authors come to meeting this desire for a summary of findings is in Appendix D, where all of the tables from which results were interpreted are given.

As in the past, social class is found to be associated with patterns of child rearing. Social class is also found to be associated with the use of particular defenses for the resolution of conflict (denial, degree of repression, etc.) and expressive styles (working-class children are "motoric" and less "conceptual" in style of expression than are middle-class children). Child-rearing practices are found to be similarly, if not more strongly, associated with preferred resolutions of conflict (for example, use of denial increases with the harshness of discipline to which a child has been exposed). In some cases, the relationship between social class and defenses or between social class and expressive style disappears when the method of child rearing is held constant. This is not, however, a consistent finding. In discussing their results, Miller and Swanson argue persuasively that both social-class membership and

child-rearing methods need to be considered if we are to understand the development of particular modes of individual adaptation.

It is not possible to do justice to the richness and variety of ideas and approaches represented in this book. Nevertheless, this reviewer was not always able to "suspend disbelief" and be swayed completely by the enthusiasms of the authors about our current ability to define the concept of "defense" or to measure the process in the way they propose. Neither does the reviewer fully understand the authors' objections to the use of the role concept or their failure to use it in discussing the socialization process in different social classes. As a result of this objection, perhaps, socialization has been described more as a series of discrete events of discipline, rewards, weaning, and toilet training than it need have been.

Altogether, *Inner Conflict and Defense* is an impressive contribution to lifting the artificial barriers between two disciplines concerned with the study of behavior processes, namely, sociology and psychoanalysis. It is recommended reading for behavioral scientists.

HENRY L. LENNARD

Columbia University

Television in the Lives of Our Children. By WILBUR SCHRAMM, JACK LYLE, and EDWIN B. PARKER. With a psychiatrist's comment on the effects of television by LAWRENCE Z. FREEDMAN. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1961. vii, 324 pp. \$6.00.

By their very choice of title, the authors already suggest that they share an orientation to communication research that is becoming increasingly dominant. Their focus is more on the uses and functions of television for various categories of children than on the impact it may have.

Data from surveys conducted in a number of communities in the United States and Canada document that in their use of television children exhibit several styles—styles that change as children grow older and differ considerably in accordance with sex, mental ability, social class background, and the amount of social frustration suffered by the child. In most respects these findings confirm and/or elaborate propositions developed by other researchers. Most children are shown to become TV-users even before they learn to read. The entertainment fare to which they are exposed also offers them much incidental information. Apparently, the brightest children derive the greatest benefits from having been exposed to the world via television earlier than they would have otherwise, but they also show the clearest

shift towards print as they approach their teens. Children who continue to rely heavily on television are shown to exhibit a preference for the kind of "fantasy" content that had been standard fare in the comic books, romance magazines, the movies, and the radio before the arrival of television. Children seeking knowledge about "reality," though soon liberated from television, also watch educational television programs about two-and-a-half times as often as the fantasy-oriented.

The viewing patterns children develop are related to behavior they observe and to norms they assimilate from their families. Exposure to intra-family conflict and frustration in social relationships also seem to impel children to seek substitute gratifications from the mass media. But the relationship between these variables seems somewhat more complex than indicated by simple statistical associations, and it would have been advisable to test for the effects of each with the others controlled. For example, in view of the known linkage between many mental tests and social class, one cannot help but ask how much each contributes to the variations; yet one finds no test of this relationship.

Part of the difficulty seems to lie in the basic research design. The researchers conducted cross-sectional surveys in several communities with a variety of goals in mind. Their findings are not always strictly comparable. One misses also an intensive analysis of deviant cases which might supplement information on the broad regularities of behavior. Near the end of their research program, the researchers selected two Canadian communities, Teletown and Radiotown (judged comparable in most respects), in order to estimate the impact attributable to television received in only one of the towns. The comparison documents that television cuts heavily into certain "fantasy" content. But one learns little beyond these rather obvious differences. Newspaper reading in Teletown was found a "bit higher" than in Radiotown (p. 19), and this is attributed to the greater availability of metropolitan newspapers. On page 71, newspaper reading in the two towns is judged "almost exactly the same." The discrepancy, though mild, is one of several. When one discovers from a table on page 103 that newspaper reading in both these towns is very low—lower even than newspaper reading of the "fantasy-oriented" children in Rocky Mountain towns who exhibited the least interest in newspapers—one begins to wonder about the relative importance of the several factors. For example, can one really assume that television shifts children's magazine reading toward "gen-

eral and quality magazines" (as indicated on page 20) or should the difference be attributed to other long-term factors? These and similar deficiencies mar a study that contains a wealth of fascinating data on children's use of television. These same data, while generally reassuring against alarmist predictions, also leave largely unanswered many questions about the cumulative effects of television viewing by generations of children.

KURT LANG

Queens College

The Acquaintance Process. By THEODORE M. NEWCOMB. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1961. xv, 303 pp. \$7.50.

Newcomb examines the process by which two groups of seventeen newly arrived residents of a university house came to know each other and to choose friends. The central finding is that likes choose like and, more particularly, that persons with similar attitudes at the time of arrival tended to become friendly later. The attitudes covered such matters as value systems, dormitory and university policies, personal and sex conduct, religion, public affairs, and race. These attitudes changed little during the academic year of observation. Pair choices changed more, though mostly in the very first weeks. Thus, in this population, choice of friends conformed to attitude rather than attitudes conforming to those of friends. House members could rank each other very soon after arrival. These rankings corresponded both to objective social characteristics of the chosen and to their *perceived* attitudes. With time, the perceptions became more accurate (though authoritarians had trouble with this) and the pairings changed accordingly. Change, for obvious reasons, was rapid in the first couple of weeks and slow after about five weeks.

This is a valuable book for several reasons. It is a piece of careful and thorough research. Rigorous controls and intensive statistical analysis leave little doubt of the validity of the conclusions, at least for the circumstances examined. Instead of accepting a natural population of opportunity with all its confounded characteristics, a special residential house was set up, and the occupants were selected to suit the needs of the experiment. The whole experiment was repeated in each of two successive years, thus avoiding the procedure so common in social research of deriving hypotheses from observed data and considering the hypotheses to be tested by the same set of data.

This is a valuable book also because in some

respects it deals with understudied topics. As a study of a small group, it is part of a vast literature. But as a naturalistic study of the structure of friendships and associations in daily life, it is a contribution to a surprisingly neglected topic.

Finally, this is an interesting book because it places its data in the context of a very general psychological theory: balance theory. The theory in its usual formulation requires that if person A is favorable to object X, then his perception of person B's attitude toward object X and of A's own attitude toward B should both be favorable or both be unfavorable, or if not, there should be movement in the direction of such balance. This may seem to be common sense, but like most common sense it is not necessarily so. Leon Festinger's dissonance theory, for example, leads to quite contrary predictions under some circumstances, and predictions which he is able to validate experimentally. The phenomena of *credo quia absurdum*, of protesting too much, of overinsistence to persuade oneself, all are cases of dissonance reduction that do not fit the simple balance model. Yet, for some reason, Newcomb blurs such differences, crediting Festinger and Heider, alike, as sources of his theory.

It certainly is not an unqualified universal of human interaction that like is attracted to like. Indeed, in one of the more important areas of human interaction, attraction to one's own gender is after all perversion. And in various forms of task-oriented activity, the need for division of labor leads people consciously to seek their complements rather than their matches. Comedians, for example, may prefer straight men to rival comedians.

Yet attraction to those with whom attitudes are shared is a massive phenomenon and the one that was empirically found to be central to the acquaintanceship process in Newcomb's college dormitory. Newcomb's findings, and findings like them, would not be interesting, however, if they merely specified what happens often, or even most often. They become interesting when the conditions of occurrence of each kind of alternative behavior are specified. That happens not through any one study but through a series of studies in diverse circumstances. It is to be hoped that the present volume on how acquaintanceship develops in one milieu will set a path for other researchers. Some of these will undoubtedly want to look at the acquaintance process in more formally structured environments than that of a dormitory. In some of these environments, acquaintance formation could well depend to a substantial degree on quite different criteria,

such as possession by the attractive person of specific goal-relevant characteristics.

ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL

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Studying Personality Cross-Culturally. Edited by BERT KAPLAN. Evanston, Ill. and Elmsford, N.Y.: Row, Peterson and Co., 1961. ix, 687 pp. \$8.50.

Kaplan has succeeded in persuading twenty-four outstanding scholars to contribute to this volume on the cross-cultural study of personality. The result is a book that is exciting, yet frustrating—reflecting in this respect the present state of theory and research in the field of culture and personality.

Each reader's theoretical biases will probably be as determining of his ranking of the individual contributions as will the levels of analysis in the chapters themselves. For this reviewer, Singer's historical chapter seems particularly useful as are the promising theoretical contributions of Wallace's masterful development of the concept of "mazeway," making sophisticated if gentle use of formal logic and mathematics, and Spiro's treatment of the impact of personality in motivating role performance.

Several authors present insightful discussions of the type and range of variables appropriate to the cross-cultural study of personality. For example, Miller elaborates a schema focusing on dyadic relationships, Hymes deals with language and speech, Devereux presents the case for art, and the Barkers favor "behavior settings," such as school classes. There are also reports of studies using life histories, modal personality techniques, dream analysis, and a rich selection of other problems and approaches.

It is perhaps regrettable that so much emphasis is given in these pages to those techniques of data gathering whose reliability and validity are dubious even in intracultural studies. This focus, reflecting the intuitive orientation of many who have made major contributions to the study of culture and personality, may blind workers in the field to the relevance of theory and research stemming from different sources. It is surprising, for instance, that Osgood's recent methodological contributions receive scant attention. Similarly, there is relative neglect of cross-national public opinion surveys and other studies regarding attitude and stereotype formation, as well as neglect of research concerning response to innovation and technological change. The omission of recent contributions from studies of cross-cultural educational exchange is also disappointing. But, of

course, even so lengthy a volume cannot consider all facets of this loosely defined field.

Despite these omissions, the book serves as a valuable reference and summary statement. If supplemented with full-length field studies, it should provide a stimulating text for graduate and senior level courses. More important, perhaps, those working in the vanguard of this developing discipline will find provocative suggestions for theoretical and empirical exploration.

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Latin America: The Balance of Race Redressed.

By J. HALCRO FERGUSON. Foreword by PHILIP MASON. Issued under the auspices of the Institute of Race Relations. London; New York; Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1961. viii, 101 pp. \$1.20, paper.

This is a curious and puzzling book. It is the first in a series to be published by the Institute of Race Relations "to stimulate thought as well as provide information" about relations between different races and peoples. Further, we are told, "The series is in no way intended to be dogmatic or definitive; it is rather exploratory and provocative."

The aim is worthy and the book is certainly provocative. The expected topics are all considered. There is the complaint about Anglo-American ignorance of Latin America. There are quite conventional discussions of "The First Comers," "The Conquest," "Colonization," and "Independence." There is a somewhat obscurely titled chapter on "The Odd Men Out," meaning, I gather, that the White men lost out in the struggle for dominance in Brazil and Haiti. There are chapters on "The New Europeans," "The Social Revolution," (held to be comparable to the upheavals occurring in Africa and Asia), and "The Northern Neighbour," (in which, under the guise of reflecting "a common Latin American view," the neighbor is transmuted into an ogre who wishes to impose racist doctrines on the "inferior peoples" of the South). Finally there are chapters on "The Negro Today," in which it is argued that "the situation of the Negro in this culturally European society is . . . perhaps of more immediate importance" than that of the more numerous Indians, and on "Looking Forward," in which it is concluded that though Latin America "has been wracked by revolution, pounded by poverty, and plagued by politics, . . . in one thing perhaps [it] is a little ahead. . . . Uniquely among the large multi-racial societies of the world [and

this is a terrifying thought] Latin America is a society where no one is likely to be killed for his colour alone."

This reviewer agrees so completely with the values cherished by the author and with his expressed hopes for the future of Latin America that it is with regret that I feel compelled to report that this book, though well and wittily written, is, in my judgment, elementary, superficial and almost malicious.

It is elementary because nothing is added to the facts usually set forth in any standard textbook on Latin America.

It is superficial because sweeping generalizations are employed to support the contention that "The Northern Neighbour" is responsible for the introduction of such race prejudice as is found in Latin America.

The book is almost malicious because, in the attempt to fix the blame for race prejudice in Latin America on the Northern Neighbors, the author engages in the all-too-well-known technique of demonizing Anglo-Americans and idealizing Latin Americans. By the same token, where the author encounters prejudices difficult to explain in terms of North American machinations, he suggests that these are "to some extent a question of cultural and linguistic rather than racial differentiation." Students of interracial problems will be surprised to learn that there are racial prejudices apart from cultural and linguistic considerations!

In short, the cause of promoting mature attitudes in interracial relations will not be served by this book. The prejudiced, both pro and con, will be provoked and will have their prejudices strengthened. Those who hope and work for the time when human beings will be able to look on all other human beings as members of the same species will have to look elsewhere for sophisticated support.

REX D. HOPPER

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American Social Institutions: A Sociological Analysis. By J. O. HERTZLER. Boston, Mass.: Allyn and Bacon, 1961. xiii, 541 pp. \$7.25.

The strong point of Hertzler's new book is its wide coverage. Part I deals with the non-social setting of social systems and with the basic concepts of sociology. Part II is entitled "The General Theory of Social Institutions." Part III treats the following institutional "areas" of the society of the United States: language, science and technology, marriage and the family, production and consumption, social

welfare, education, government, stratification, religion, and art.

One defect of such wide coverage is that the treatment is at times somewhat thin, and there is too little space for Hertzler to take advantage of the intensive knowledge he undoubtedly possesses. Much of Part III, even, deals with such topics as socialization in general, the social functions of religion in general, the types of religious groups, and the principles of scientific method. There are also unsystematic excursions into ancient and primitive institutions. About 350 pages of the book have no more to do specifically with the United States than they have with any other modern society. Moreover, conciseness is not one of the merits of the "non-American" parts, despite their dry abstractions.

Hertzler defines social institution in such a way that he can speak of "the members of institutions": "As a starting definition, it can be said that a social institution is (1) a set of chartered and sanctioned behavioral directives and expectations, both of a positive and prohibitive nature, (2) expressed by the individuals involved as patterned roles for the various social positions and situations, and (3) aided by a complex of conformity-producing social usages and procedures and implementing social organizations, symbolic materials and, in most instances, physical equipment, whereby human beings systematically satisfy some basic need or related needs." (P. 84).

Little direct use is made of specific, detailed research results. When statistics are given, they are not always so meaningful as they might be. For example, on page 348, the number of hospital beds in the United States in 1956 is given, but there is no statistical indication whether this number should be regarded as large or small, adequate or inadequate. The theoretical parts largely consist of generalities worded so generally that, although they would be hard to refute, they are often not very exciting. The more concrete statements are often vague. For example: "The school teacher at all educational levels has, in fact, become a 'substitute parent.'" (P. 254). An analysis in terms of "pattern variables" would show that this statement is at least misleading.

Nevertheless, most sociologists will find here and there in Part III a few facts new to them. There is probably little in Parts I and II that they do not already know; yet these parts would be forbiddingly abstract for beginners and might seem too imprecise (not incorrect) to arouse interest. The book is, however, conscientiously done; its topical range and its bibli-

ographies might make it serviceable as a kind of study guide, but unfortunately the bibliographies are not annotated.

HARRY M. JOHNSON

Simmons College

Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader.

Edited by AMITAI ETZIONI. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1961. xiv, 497 pp. \$6.75.

Etzioni has brought together 39 selections bearing on the study of large-scale organizations. Some include all or most of journal articles, some are abbreviated from larger articles, some are excerpted from books, and six appear in print for the first time. Etzioni states that he intends the book to serve as "a textbook for courses in organizational analysis." In spite of this intent, he says, he had deliberately excluded "some of the classics" because of their easy availability. This criterion does not, however, prevent the inclusion of a selection from Barnard's *The Functions of the Executive*, of Selznick's "Foundations of the Theory . . ." article, Bendix and Fisher's critique of Elton Mayo, and Merton's article on bureaucratic personality.

The selections are grouped under various headings, to each of which the editor writes a brief introduction, consisting of a statement of some of the major issues, and a two or three-line reference to what each of the authors in the section deals with. Section 1, "Toward A Theory of Organization," contains short articles by Max Weber, Chester Barnard, Philip Selznick, Talcott Parsons (a portion of a larger treatment of organization), Robert K. Merton, James March and Herbert Simon (a brief presentation of their inducements-contributions theory), Alvin Gouldner (a discussion of the value assumptions of bureaucracy theories), and an original article by Terence Hopkins, attempting to integrate the Weber and Barnard theories of organization. Next follow four articles on "Organizational Theory Applied"—a "progress report" by William F. Whyte on the human relations approach, Reinhard Bendix and Lloyd Fisher's discussion of the "perspectives" of Elton Mayo, together with George C. Homans' reply, and an attempt by the editor to integrate industrial sociology by viewing it as the sociology of economic organization.

A third section deals with "Organizational Goals," as treated in David Sills' work on the polio foundation, Burton Clark's discussion of the adult school, Donald Cressey's study of

prison goals, and a discussion by James Thompson and William McEwen of forms of organizational interaction—competition, bargaining, co-optation, and coalition. Remaining sections of the book deal with "organizational structures" in which Etzioni has one contribution each on the prison, military, factory, trade union, mental hospital, school, and religious organization, contributions dealing with "Organization and Society," including the ever more widely reprinted (and deservedly so) Goffman treatment of "total institutions," and a concluding set of five articles on methods for the study of organizations.

It is readily evident from the foregoing that the book exhibits a wide range of selections. The student will find here, well-stated, the major issues in the sociological study of organization. The book is studiously "sociological," as a consequence of which the student reader may be left unaware of the recent contributions of political scientists to this area (the selection from March and Simon is an exception to this statement) and of economists, especially in the study of decision-making. However, this omission is not serious, since the instructor can discuss these contributions, and since other collections exist in which their contributions can be assessed.

The book is heavily theoretical and methodological in emphasis. The reviewer made a crude count of the number of articles presenting mainly a point of view or a procedure, as compared to those articles presenting mainly a body of data. In the first category fell 27; in the second, 12. Although this may indeed represent the state of discourse in the field of organizational analysis, one wonders if the student's first exposure should be to this backstage reality; for it is in the study of organizations that we are getting some of our most fascinating case studies: those by Sills, Stanton and Schwartz, Blau, Goffman, Burton Clark, Sykes, Janowitz, Dalton, Lipset, for example. There is some material from each of these persons, but the picture of the data is too briefly drawn or lost in the general discussions presented.

Some of the original papers deserve special mention. Peter Rossi presents an excellent analysis of business participation in the local community. Bernard Levenson offers an insightful discussion of succession in terms of the Merton paradigm of socially structured deviance, and Paul Lazarsfeld and Herbert Menzel give us a highly useful set of categories for the discussion of individual versus collective properties of data. Allen Barton and Bo Anderson, and

Morris Zelditch, Jr. and Terence Hopkins also make valuable methodological contributions.

On the whole, one comes away from this book pleased with certain of the articles, unaffected by some, bored with a few, and repelled by a very few. At the end, one wishes there were more, and that is certainly a tribute to the book. The instructor in social organization will find it a valuable aid as an up-to-date text or for use as additional readings.

EDWARD GROSS

University of Minnesota

The Rhetoric of Science: A Methodological Discussion of the Two-by-Two Table. By ROY G. FRANCIS. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1961. vii, 183 pp. \$4.75.

In this brief but interestingly written book, Professor Francis attempts to show the relation of the 2x2 table to logic and to problems of causality. The author begins by rejecting extreme operationalism and by assuming that error-free measurement is impossible. In Chapter 2 he discusses certain elementary principles of categorical logic which are used in later portions of the book. Chapter 3, "Problems in the Proof of Causality," contains a very good discussion of the history of causal thinking and the various devices that have been used to avoid causal terminology (e.g., looking for associations or conditions). The chapter also includes discussions of analytic induction and the relationship between the notions of causality and those of necessary and sufficient conditions.

The remaining chapters cover materials ordinarily treated in a first course in statistics. Chapter 4 discusses probability, the law of large numbers, Fisher's exact test, and chi square. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 take up various measures of association, including phi square, C, Q, Tetrachoric correlation, lambda, and McCormick's kappa prime. Of particular interest is an excellent discussion of various alternative formulas for phi square and the causal models for which each is appropriate. Chapter 8 takes up chi square procedures for matched samples and for testing for the joint effects of several factors on a single dependent variable. The final chapter (Chap. 9) contains the author's summary and conclusions.

This book is written for the reader with very little mathematical background and might be used as a supplementary textbook in a first course in statistics. There are several places where either proofing errors or insufficiently developed arguments tend to confuse the reader.

Also, in the reviewer's opinion, more attention could have been given to multivariate analysis and the use of control variables. But the discussions of categorical logic and causal inferences and their relationships to the choice of an appropriate measure of association would seem to fill an important gap in the methodological literature.

HUBERT M. BLALOCK, JR.

Yale University

The Sociometry Reader. Edited by J. L. MORENO. With HELEN H. JENNINGS, JOAN H. CRISWELL, LEO KATZ, ROBERT R. BLAKE, JANE S. MOUTON, MERL E. BONNEY, MARY L. NORTHWAY, CHARLES P. LOOMIS, CHARLES PROCTOR, RENATO TAGIURI, and JIRI NEHNEVAJSA. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960. xxiv, 773 pp. \$9.50.

This collection of readings serves to pull together and represent sociometry and the sociometric movement in their fullest dimension by reproducing what J. L. Moreno considers to be a series of the most significant published articles in the field.

The selections in the book range from those dealing with the foundations of sociometry as a discipline, through the methodology and the major areas of sociometric exploration, to the history of the movement. The preface by Moreno sets the framework for the contents. Moreno views sociometry as "the most systematic and furthest developed crystallization of the trend towards group measurement in the social sciences," and the sociometric movement as being the extended influence of sociometry upon all branches of the social sciences mark the parameters within which he would have the reader view the discipline of sociometry and the readings included in the book.

Part I deals with the foundations of sociometry and includes those articles which set forth its basic theory. As might be assumed, all of these, with one exception, are by the "father" of the discipline—J. L. Moreno. The other reading recalls the investigation into the sociometric choice and group formation process among delinquent girls at the Hudson Training School by Moreno's early collaborator, Helen Hall Jennings.

The section on Sociometry Measurement (Part II), introduced by Joan Criswell, Leo Katz, Robert Blake, and Jane Mouton, covers the development of measurement methods, the use of statistical methods and models, and the establishment of the reliability and validity of sociometric procedures.

Among the selections are Mary Northway's "Introduction to the Target Sociogram," Leo

Katz's "Matrix Analysis," and Moreno's "Observations on the Sociogram and the Sociomatrix."

In Part III (Major Areas of Exploration) the reader is exposed to the proliferation of sociometric investigations in childhood, early adolescence, high school, and college age-level groups; in the community, industry, and the armed forces; and perceptual sociometry.

Prominent among the writings in this section are Charles Loomis's reports of sociometric groups and relationships within the community and F. Kraupl Taylor's perceptually oriented evaluation of emotional interactions among small groups.

The final section (Part IV—History) reproduces Jiri Nehnevajsa's "Sociometry: Decades of Growth," and Moreno's "Appendix of Global Developments from 1950-60."

In this reader, Dr. Moreno has drawn from the very large number of sociometric investigations, a selection which demonstrates the nature and extent of the impact (actual and potential) of sociometry and the sociometric movement upon the disciplines embraced by the behavioral sciences and upon Western culture generally.

While some question always may be raised as to the selection of the articles included and the exclusion of others, the writings provide the reader a sophisticated insight into the emergence of sociometry in social science research and literature and reaffirms its contribution to the understanding of interpersonal behavior.

REED POWELL

University of California, Los Angeles

Public Leadership: A Critical Review with Special Reference to Adult Education. By WENDELL BELL, RICHARD J. HILL, and CHARLES R. WRIGHT. San Francisco, Calif.: Chandler Publishing Co., 1961. x, 242 pp. No price indicated.

In a review that is more descriptive than critical, the authors have summarized portions of a large number of field studies and surveys dealing with public leadership. Studies of the psychology of leadership and the analysis of leadership in small groups are deliberately omitted from consideration. As an ordering device, five approaches to leadership are delineated: (1) the positional or formal leadership approach, in which persons occupying important organizational positions are selected for study; (2) the reputational approach, wherein leaders are identified through the judgments of other persons; (3) the social participation approach, which examines the extent to which

persons are involved in various organizational and community activities; (4) the opinion leadership approach, in which self- or other-designated influentials are identified on the basis of varying criteria; and (5) the decision-making approach, which focuses on the process by which decisions are reached and the part played by various persons in reaching them.

The larger portion of the monograph is concerned with showing how the composition of the leadership group varies with the approach utilized in designating leaders. Composition is viewed largely in demographic terms, as the authors summarize what the various studies have to report on the number of leaders, their sex, their age, their race, nationality, and religion, and their social class. Although there is little agreement on the size of the leadership group, most studies show that public leaders tend to be male, in their middle years, native-born white Protestants, and (with the exception of opinion leaders, who are found in all classes) in the middle and upper social classes. Other chapters deal with attitudes toward public leaders and the types of motives which underlie political behavior.

The authors have done a workmanlike job in compiling and summarizing a large portion of the empirical research in this area, and the book is made more valuable by the inclusion of a 587-item bibliography. However, there is seldom any attempt to move from the level of descriptive generalizations to theoretical explanations of the uniformities and differences reported. Findings are presented and categorized, but rarely analyzed and integrated. In short, the whole in this case does not appear to be appreciably more than the sum of its parts.

On the basis of their review of the literature, the authors make recommendations to those concerned with adult education for public responsibility. Most of their suggestions deal with the characteristics of the clientele rather than with the content of the curriculum. Their recommendations do not appear to be particularly controversial. In general, it is suggested that the schools recruit white Protestant middle-aged and middle or upper-class males if they wish to influence actual or potential leaders, and that they recruit individuals with divergent characteristics if they desire to change the existing distribution of leadership in this country—although, to use the authors' concluding statement: "Comprehensive adult-education efforts could be oriented in both directions."

W. RICHARD SCOTT

Stanford University

Sociology of Crime. Edited by JOSEPH S. ROUCEK. New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. 551 pp. \$10.00.

Crime in America: Controversial Issues in Twentieth Century Criminology. By HERBERT A. BLOCH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1961. 355 pp. \$6.00.

The Roucek volume contains twenty-one chapters by nineteen authors who review an assortment of loosely connected topics dealing generally with crime causation, treatment methods, and police work, and more specifically with some of the correctional programs of Western and Eastern Europe. Apparently little effort was made to organize and integrate the various contributions or to present materials that are not readily available elsewhere. As a result, the book lacks continuity, and few of the topics are presented in a systematic or comprehensive manner. For example, the section on socio-psychological aspects of crime and delinquency, which is comprised of nearly a hundred and fifty pages of text, includes chapters on psychopathology, immigration, geography, ideology, the school, and mass communication. However, there is no competent analysis of important current research on the self-conceptions of offenders, patterns of perception and socialization, peer group and reference group phenomena, or the effects of social system variations and opportunity structures. Again, Roucek, in the final section of about one hundred and twenty pages, examines the correctional system of Soviet Russia and her satellites, but he contents himself for the most part with a digest of relatively popular and readily available sources and consequently fails to make as much of a contribution as he could have in a field where pioneering research is badly needed. The discussion is primarily descriptive rather than analytical.

While some of the contributions have considerable merit as separate reports, their impact on the reader is hampered by the lack of effective connective tissue and over-all organization. These defects are conspicuous in a book of such generous size and high price.

The book edited by Bloch is a somewhat different matter. It consists of twenty-three brief, but lively and generally interesting, essays on "controversial issues" in contemporary criminology, including correction's "sacred cows," prison labor and discipline, capital punishment, highway homicide, theory versus practice in parole administration, the M'Naghten rule, control of prostitution and homosexuality, psychopathology, delinquency prediction,

heredity versus environment, and legalization of gambling, among others. The authors include administrators and practitioners in the fields of correction and law enforcement, politicians, psychiatrists, researchers, and academicians. Each chapter is introduced by a short headnote that attempts to set the stage for the ensuing discussion.

Most of the contributions were first presented as papers at the annual meetings of the American Society of Criminology. Clearly their intent is to provide for readers a variety of opinions and arguments that rarely get a fair hearing in conventional textbooks or criminological journals. The reports are designed to stimulate controversy and to encourage an experimental attitude with regard to correctional programs and policies rather than to give definitive answers to the questions raised. In this connection the book accomplishes its task quite well. There is plenty here to arouse even the casual reader.

CLARENCE SCHRAG

University of Washington

The Right of Assembly and Association. By GLENN ABERNATHY. Columbia, S. C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1961. viii, 264 pp. \$6.25.

Glenn Abernathy's *The Right of Assembly and Association* is in the tradition of the liberal utilitarians who eschew absolutes and argue against society's tendency to repress the strange and unpopular. The book's temper is deliberate and judicious; its policy judgments are carefully anchored in existing judicial practice. Given these merits, the book's principal defect is the lack of a striking and affirmative statement of principle.

Professor Abernathy expressly organizes his discussion (c.f., p. 18) around existing limitations on the freedoms of assembly and association—he proposes to push back these limitations by direct refutation of the arguments supporting them. Many of the resulting negative analyses are reasoned and persuasive. But the general approach is, quite literally, at odds with that "preferred position" of the civil liberties which this reviewer believes proper in constitutional interpretation; Mr. Abernathy seems content to say that limitations in the name of public peace or national security may well be justified whatever the positive case for the free assembly or association. This approach, though rhetorically appealing, fails to accord adequate attention to those freedoms which the author values highly.

The book's closing chapters focus upon the workings of those freedoms of association which are, as David Fellman notes, today more significant than free assembly as such. In this day of prevailing "pluralism," it is a pity that comparable attention is not paid to the qualities of our participation in that great association that forms the public will. Such attention, even when only descriptive, is not popular today—it is thought at worst semi-totalitarian and at least infected with the stereotypes of high school civics. Yet there appear in the many excellent analyses, such as those of the *Feiner* and *Kunz* cases, intimations of the comprehensive political sociology that we need as the basis of our public policy. I should look forward to another, more consistently positive book from Professor Abernathy in which he takes his start from the case for civil liberties rather than the case against their enemies.

DONALD MEIKLEJOHN

University of Chicago

Education and Manpower. By NATIONAL MANPOWER COUNCIL. Edited by HENRY DAVID. Foreword by ERWIN D. CANHAM. Introduction by ELI GINZBERG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1960, xvi, 326 pp. \$5.00.

In his discussion of the potential research opportunities available to the sociologist who wishes to work within the framework of educational institutions, Neal Gross states that there is "gold in them thar hills." As if by magic, the gold rush now appears to be in full swing.

This book, consisting of some fourteen chapters selected from four of the seven volumes published in the past by the National Manpower Council, is but one of a growing collection of "readers" dealing with education and the needs of our society. In this case the emphasis is placed on human resources and various workings of the American educational system.

As might be anticipated from earlier Council publications, the primary theme is that many well qualified individuals do not take full advantage of the educational opportunities available to them. While the usual explanations for this lack of school attendance are presented, i.e., finances, variations in motivation, poor guidance policies, etc., there is little attempt made at a systematic documentation and presentation of confirming evidence.

In taking the position that more and more education is needed for more and more people, the authors make two assumptions. First, that the individual and society have only to gain

if there is an increase in the proportion of citizens attending educational institutions for longer periods of time; second, that our educational institutions are in a position to handle, in an adequate fashion, an increase in student enrollment.

As for the latter, recent investigations dealing with the impact of schools on changes in the values and attitudes of students as well as other research pointing out the force of the adolescent culture within our high schools would indicate that some forms of education, at least, are far from beneficial. In addition, we have yet to understand the consequences of a run on the educational market in respect to the present value of academic currency and the total employment situation.

In regard to the former, there is little evidence to indicate that there would be an increase in the number of competent educators needed to handle an upswing in student enrollment. On the contrary, we have seen that a large proportion of university faculty is becoming more and more inaccessible to the college student. With the attraction of non-academic employment and a move toward research, the distance between teacher and student has indeed increased. Moreover, numerous educational institutions are already beginning enrollment cut-backs in order to raise the academic quality of the student body.

In summary, then, it is this reviewer's impression that the true value of this volume lies in the fact that it raises a number of questions which are in need of systematic research.

DAVID GOTTLIEB

Michigan State University

Montesquieu: Pioneer of the Sociology of Knowledge. By WERNER STARK. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. xii, 214 pp. \$3.50.

In the voluminous literature on Montesquieu, there is no study with which I am familiar that is as lucid and informative about his contributions to sociology as this monograph. Dr. Stark's excellent grasp of the problems and approaches of the sociology of knowledge, which he has revealed in an earlier work, has been used most advantageously in this volume. He has achieved an unusually clear and comprehensive understanding of Montesquieu's ideas.

According to Dr. Stark, the general questions that the sociology of knowledge must answer are: What social factors are mind determining or thought producing? What is the mode of determination? What is the degree of determination? With these basic considerations in mind,

he shows convincingly that the conventional interpretation of Montesquieu as a rationalist and geographical determinist is only partially applicable. In his youthful writings, Montesquieu was inclined to support a mechanistic view of reality, but in his mature works he emerges as the forerunner of historicism and the organological doctrine. In some measure, Montesquieu anticipated both Sumner's notion that societies manifest a strain toward consistency in their culture and his concept of the mores. His ideas also foreshadowed Toennies' typology and the emphasis on relationship by Simmel.

Although Montesquieu stressed the influence of ecological and geographical factors, he thought that they produced tendencies or dispositions toward particular outcomes rather than specific social or mental forms. In essence, he proposed that a system of ideas must be explained in terms of the contemporary system of human relationships that supported it. Montesquieu believed that this system is epitomized in the political institutions of a society. He considered that the constitution of a society is the life-principle of its order and organization. Therefore, he regarded government, in the sense of a comprehensive system of controls through mores, laws, and religion that sustains the moral effort necessary for the maintenance of reciprocity in human relations, as the ultimate determinant of ideas. According to Montesquieu, the mode of determination of ideas is rooted in the functional interdependence between the various aspects of a society.

It should be noted that the coherent picture of Montesquieu as a sociologist presented by Dr. Stark is not to be found full-fashioned in the works of Montesquieu, himself. Dr. Stark has pieced together scattered passages with logical consistency and has extricated concepts and ideas from unsystematic, and sometimes confused, arguments. In this small volume, Dr. Stark provides an excellent analysis and interpretation that enhances the reputation of Montesquieu as a leading figure in the social sciences.

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

The Philosophy of Social Science. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. London: Macmillan & Co., 1960. ix, 187 pp. 22s.6d.

The Symbolic Life of Man. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Bombay: Hind Kitabs Ltd., 1959. xii, 294 pp. Rs. 15.00.

For Mukerjee, the philosophy of social science aims at integrating knowledge about hu-

man nature and human destiny, not through a "fresh addition" to the social sciences, but rather through the "analysis, description and clarification of the existing social sciences." This demands treatment of such broad themes as the unity of social science, its logic and "general theory," its metaphysical orientations, the "crucial facet" of value and valuation, optima in social planning, and the functions of myth and metaphysical polarities.

Mukerjee's triads of man-communication-social situation and person-value-institution, provide a flexible framework both for critiques of the writings of others and for the orderly development of his own creative and constructive proposals. He finds some support and validation of these proposals (amidst balanced criticism as well) in theories as varied as those of Lewin and Freud, Marx and Maritain, Weber and Dewey, Bergson and Bridgman, Northrop and Carnap. On the whole, this is a skillful interweaving of many strains in Western science with an over-all view that still finds a central place for universal and transpersonal views in Indian thought, such as themes of the Bhagavata and maxims of Mahayana Buddhism. All of this is tempered, in turn, by a recurrent stress on the "person" and "personality" as against what Mukerjee views as the excessive powers attributed to culture in a view, such as that of Sorokin, whom he otherwise clearly places among the foremost social thinkers of today. Throughout the long and varied discussions, the "crucial facet" of value remains a unifying principle.

Mukerjee's very catholicity of taste and interest may sometimes betray him. One striking example is the effort to integrate "operationalism" in the analysis of values. The very ambiguity of the term "operation" may lend to its appeal as a Western scientific concept with a certain status. But Mukerjee would have been far wiser to follow Northrop's suggestions for a broader use of the term than those of strict operationalists, like Bridgman, whom he cites for their "challenge to social scientists for the acceptance of the 'operational method' for both concept-formation and analysis in the social field." Mukerjee doubtlessly believes that his distinction of "intrinsic" or "essential" from "instrumental" or "operational" values rescues him from any real dilemma, but even in this he uses the term "operational" in a way far removed from any reasonable interpretation of its equivocal uses by Western operationalists. If there is anything distinctive about operationalism, it is in eliminating definitions, theories, indeed all meanings, that are non-operational (in whatever sense it might be used, including

Mukerjee's!). Where, then, would we find the "final supremacy of the intrinsic values" which for Mukerjee is "assured"? Still elsewhere, as in the discussion of myths as "hypotheses" in history, this same catholicity leads Mukerjee to suggestive syntheses, sparkling with brilliant insights.

Analysis of mythic, religious, and other symbolism is amplified more fully in the second work, *The Symbolic Life of Man*. There, the symbol replaces value as the crucial facet. It is the "hyphen between culture and the individual," the "binder between man and man and man and the universe," and the "new starting point for sociology." It is, as a term, "more luminous than concept and more potent than value." (pp. 25-31 and 94-96). Symbols play a key role in the process of socialization by integrating and canalizing "urges and values," participating in the social structuring of perception, fostering stable self-social images, and laying the basis for the "entire configuration of culture" as well as its transmission and permanency through "conditioning and habit-formation" under the influence of "attributive" symbolism.

The higher symbolic life is evidenced in morality, mythic and religious consciousness, and ultimately in the "metaphysical order and harmony behind the chaos of appearance." (p. 267). Here we come again to the interweaving of Upanishadic speculation with Western thoughts as diverse as those in Plato and Max Weber, Scheler and Whitman, Mannheim and Einstein. Here, the "metaculture pattern of unity, beauty and goodness" and the "universal symbolic pattern of rhythm in matter, life and mind" (pp. 274-277) and the Svetasvatata Upanishad's metaphor of the Supreme Spider Artist's web, replace all concern with operational definitions.

Mukerjee's faults are in a sense *positive*, rather than *negative*. He may try to embrace too much and to integrate views that are inherently incompatible, along with many others that prove upon analysis compatible beneath the surface. But he tries to grapple with the fundamental philosophic assumptions and problems in the study of man and society. "It is a sad commentary," he writes, "on the status of social science that few contemporary sociologists have shown concern with the fundamental metaphysical postulates and norms of a culture from which its social institutions, values and practices are derived. Sorokin, Scheler, Mannheim and Northrop seem to be the only thinkers who have dealt with these basic problems." (*Philosophy*, p. 150). The

list may be too short. In any case, Mukerjee's name must be added.

JOSEPH B. FORD

San Fernando Valley State College

O Wartosciach Spolecznych: Studia i Szkice. By FELIKS GROSS. New York: Polski Instytut Naukowy W Ameryce, 1961. 211 pp. No price indicated, paper.

The title of this book, which the Polish Institute of Science has published for the benefit of Polish sociologists, is: "On Social Values: Studies and Sketches." In it, Dr. Gross has collected a number of studies that have appeared in various American and foreign journals during that past twelve years. Although the subjects of the reprinted articles are diverse, they all serve to illuminate Dr. Gross's central theme. Dr. Gross is chiefly concerned with the relation of ideological systems and social values and the influence of both on economic and political processes. In one chapter, he deals specifically with the relation of technological innovation to changes in social values, with political sociology in America, and with the mechanisms of social movements in Europe. This chapter includes valuable discussion of the role of the intelligentsia and middle classes and the influence of religion on European political ideologies.

Dr. Gross's own position is formulated in a study on sociology and ethics. He sides with the sociologists who are problem oriented rather than method oriented. He agrees with those who reject the relativity of values and believe that sociologists cannot be completely neutral concerning the phenomena that they study. The book also contains an interesting account of the author's personal relations with Malinowski and a thought provoking sketch for a sociological theory of international cooperation. Dr. Gross advocates a pluralism which will assure the free development of individuals, groups, and nations based upon universal values. In the last chapter of his book, Dr. Gross affirms the existence of these abiding values and discusses what they are.

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

Science and the Structure of Ethics. By ABRAHAM EDEL. International Encyclopedia of Unified Science, Vol. 11, No. 3, Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1961. iv, 101 pp. \$2.25, paper.

For years the author of this little monograph has directed his versatile mind to the most stubborn questions in ethical theory. Few are

so well equipped to view in rich detail the spectrum of problems emerging from man's quest for ethical guidance. Here we shall find a select catalogue of the ethical issues, past and present, which have aroused controversy and challenged analysis.

The bearing of science on ethical theory is shown to have numerous ramifications. There is the difficulty of field indeterminacy, of defining moralities, of separating methodological approaches (analytic, descriptive, causal-explanatory, evaluative), of distinguishing the structure of a given ethical theory from the structure of ethics, of assessing such concepts as generalization, systematization, validation, verification, and justification.

As indication of the author's facility for analytic distinctions, consider his list of evaluative criteria in the domain of morals. For the contemplation and adoption of proposed means he suggests effectuality, efficiency, constructiveness or destructiveness, multi-valence, expressiveness, luster, and telicity; for ends, attractiveness, purity, permanence, constructiveness or destructiveness, area, attainability and cost, depth, role, genuineness, and satisfaction. This "process of building up evaluative criteria from below" is accompanied by a parallel process going on higher up: along with the "paramount ideal type" (happiness, harmony, and justice are illustrations of key standards), there is brief discussion of individual models, jurisdictional standards, the indispensable means type, and others, all of which may lend stability to moral judgment.

Although Edel succeeds in presenting a balanced analysis of myriad viewpoints, his heuristic principle of Existential Perspectives (EP) is centered on the problem of how far differences among ethical theories spring from different answers to scientific questions. Some theories view existence by specifying bases in scientific results, others specify trans-scientific bases, and still others deny the relevance of any existential bases. Edel believes the dimensions of EP including their understanding of man's nature, their image of community, and their view of the properties of the world can be worked out by employing a theatrical metaphor: the stage setting for performances embodied in ethical processes may be set as issues rooted in individual, group, or world wide problems. We may enquire about the *dramatis personae* and the typical lines of action assigned to roles as well as about the degree of determinancy in environment and plot structure. Stage settings may be physical, ecological, psychological, sociocultural, historical, etc.

Edel's treatment of EP yields questions concerning the role of science in the conceptual and methodological frameworks of ethical theories. Specific logical profiles reveal that the meaning of "good" in one theory is furnished by a specific account of the self, in another by a specific account of will in the act of commitment, and in a third in a specific account of the nature of pleasure. Throughout, the author examines the definition of moral

terms and their relation to non-moral terms, the relation of moral sentences to one another, and their modes of certification, justification, and application.

The younger sociologists, intrigued by ethical complexities, will spare themselves many hours of labor by searching the depths of this surpassing work.

LEWELLYN GROSS

University of Buffalo

BOOK NOTES

National Character and National Stereotypes: A Trend Report Prepared for the International Union of Scientific Psychology. By H. C. J. DUIJKER and N. H. FRIJDA. Vol. I, *Confluence: Surveys of Research in the Social Sciences*. A Series edited by the International Committee for Social Sciences Documentation. New York: Humanities Press, 1961. xi, 238 pp. \$4.50.

This first volume of a new series deals with the broad field of culture and personality, and more specifically, national character. Very little discussion of stereotypes is included. A systematic survey of different theoretical positions is undertaken, much research material is sketchily referred to, and a bibliography and "register" of national character studies make up 70 pages, nearly a third of the book. The "register" is classified only by countries, and neither it nor the bibliography is annotated. The very length and exhaustiveness of the bibliographic material may limit its usefulness without notations which would enable the reader to select from it in accordance with his purposes.

It cannot be said that the authors have settled any of the issues. But they have succeeded in defining some of them and suggesting types of research needed. Much difference of interpretation is shown to stem from different conceptions of personality and character. The authors seem to lean toward the position of "depth psychology," considering the "real" personality to consist only of characteristics that are unique to individuals and uninfluenced by "cultural stresses, the behavior of others, expectancies concerning one's own behavior, role performance," and the like. Values and attitudes, it is said, "may spring from the depths of personality, or may be taken over from the environment."

This effort to divorce personality as an "inner essence" from behavior and situations seems to be a major stumbling block to understanding.

JOEL V. BERREMAN

University of Oregon

American Perspectives: The National Self-Image in the Twentieth Century. Edited by ROBERT E. SPILLER and ERIC LARRABEE. RALPH HENRY GABRIEL, HENRY NASH SMITH, and EDWARD N. WATERS, Associate Editors. Library of Congress Series in American Civilization. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961. xi, 216 pp. \$4.75.

When in 1943 the Library of Congress planned "an integrated series of publications dealing with the United States in the twentieth century," and still more when the first of the ten topical volumes in the series (1951-60) began to appear, it was obvious that the series would not pretend to survey the field. This second of two concluding volumes does not pretend even to summarize, but ignores the themes of at least six of the preceding volumes (religion, journalism, the family, immigration, farm life, and education). The contributors were to consider changes in the image of the national character in history, philosophy, literary criticism, music, painting and sculpture, the social sciences, economic institutions, politics, popular culture, and mass production.

As the editors indicate, there is no unity in the result. Yet, this book marks much progress since Charles Beard found no more than "chaos floating in chaos" in a major work in social history (1933); it may point the road ahead.

EARL POMEROY

University of Oregon

Communism and the General Strike. By WILFRID H. CROOK. Hamden, Conn.: Shoe String Press, 1960. xii, 483 pp. \$8.75.

Crook's study of the general strike stretches from Iceland to Chile and from Japan to Western Europe. Perhaps the author could have supplied a more adequate general historical background to place his fascinating examples in context; as it stands, the book in parts lacks continuity, and the case studies, torn from their original historical settings, are occasionally too brief to be of much significance. Crook considers three types of general strike (economic, political, and revolutionary) from Benbow to Castro, and concludes that general strikes should have clear, simple aims, a stated terminal date, and adequate preparation; "unprepared general strikes at this juncture of world history are both callous and stupid." Why? "Communists, like hawks, pounce upon potential revolution." Deep anti-Communist conviction runs throughout the book, sometimes diverting the author from a truly scholarly aim, and tends to produce a measure of cliché.

The editing was rather sloppy: what, for instance, happened to footnote 14 of Chapter 2, the source for Pilling's classic speech to the jury of March 1843?

It is a pity this work did not have the benefit of preparation and publication by a good university press. It is nevertheless a very useful handbook on general-strike theory and practice.

PETER D'A. JONES

Smith College

The Political Foundations of International Law.

By MORTON A. KAPLAN and NICHOLAS DEB. KATZENBACH. New York and London: John Wiley & Sons, 1961, xi, 372 pp. \$6.95.

Recently several writers, including Percy E. Corbett, Myres McDougal, and Julius Stone, have attempted to explore systematically the relationships between law and politics at the international level. Kaplan, a political scientist, and Katzenbach, a lawyer and now Assistant Attorney General of the United States, here make a major contribution to this continuing effort. The authors use two models of international systems, the nineteenth century balance of power system and the modern loose bipolar system, previously and more thoroughly developed in Kaplan's *System and Process in International Politics*, in analyzing the roles that norms and international institutions play under varying environmental conditions. The more traditional approach, emphasizing a gradual evolution of law, tends to result in prescriptions

of marginal usefulness to those attempting to understand contemporary international politics and may actually distract our attention from the role that norms play internationally. The authors conclude that much international behavior is normatively oriented. They provide a foundation for the better understanding of this aspect of human relations.

GARY BEST

University of Oregon

The Political Kingdom in Uganda: A Study in Bureaucratic Nationalism. By DAVID E. APTER. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1961. xvi, 498 pp. \$10.00.

David E. Apter is well known to the growing community of students of African affairs for his excellent study of Ghana (*Gold Coast in Transition*) which was published in 1955. In this new book on Uganda he has pursued his able analysis of the conditions and problems characteristic of many of the new nations of Africa. *The Political Kingdom in Uganda* is a very worthy successor to his earlier study of Ghana and a most welcome addition to the still scant literature on the sociopolitical problems of an area destined for political turmoil.

Apter's book on Uganda is essentially a study of forms of authority and political change in contemporary times. He frequently compares Uganda's development and prospects for political development with Ghana and Nigeria. His main thesis, however, is to test his proposition that a "modernizing autocracy [especially the Buganda province of Uganda] can adapt and adjust institutions without great difficulty until the point is reached where the principle of kingship is itself challenged. At that point, either modernization and change are halted, or the entire system shifts to a different principle of authority, conforming to either a consociational [e.g., Nigeria] or mobilization [e.g., Ghana] type."

In his analysis of bureaucratic nationalism in Uganda, Apter concentrates very largely on the important province of Buganda, one of four provinces in Uganda. The book benefits by the depth of analysis which this concentration permits, but the reader may feel some loss of explanation and analysis of other segments of the Uganda Protectorate. In the context of this book, however, one can find most of the forces of tribalism, parochialism, separatism, and various forms of political and economic nationalism which underlie tensions among Africans, and between Africans and Asians, and Africans and Europeans in East Africa.

JOHN GANGE

University of Oregon

Creative Marriage. By ALBERT ELLIS and ROBERT A. HARPER. New York: Lyle Stuart, 1961. 288 pp. \$5.00.

The topic of marital interaction in the sexual area receives central emphasis in this volume designed for use as a bibliotherapeutic tool for those who already have had some professional help with their somewhat neurotic personalities and marriages. The authors assume that "personal upsets, irrational prejudices, and communication difficulties" tend to be particularly crucial to marital adjustment in the areas of love-sex relationship, child rearing, in-law relationships, and divorce. Thus, this trade-book deals with these topics and the factors in a "sick" society which lead to difficulties in the areas mentioned above.

The volume is full of conversational interchanges between therapist and client. Professional persons interested in marriage counseling will find considerable in the volume to help the development of their insight into how two well-known men in this field deal with clients.

This trade book might be used as an auxiliary reference in functional courses on marriage. It certainly could stimulate much class discussion—perhaps we might better say argument—which would leave the instructor with the responsibility of making sense out of controversial issues as they arise, especially in the area of sexual interaction in the marital situation.

THEODORE B. JOHANNIS, JR.

University of Oregon

Measuring Delinquency: A Study of Probation Department Referrals. By JOSEPH W. EATON and KENNETH POLK. A Study by the Welfare Planning Council, Los Angeles Region. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1961. xv, 102 pp. \$7.00.

This is a study of information routinely available from the records of the Los Angeles County Probation Department that would (or could) be useful in the planning of delinquency prevention and treatment programs. The study was financed by the Rosenberg Foundation of San Francisco, as were two other related studies of youth behavior in the Los Angeles area. The senior author, a professor of social work research at the University of Pittsburgh, was brought in as consultant to design the project and to help implement it; the junior author was initially engaged to make machine tabulations of the probation department records and subsequently was asked to collaborate in the analysis and presentation of the findings.

The study consists primarily of a routine summarization for Los Angeles County of the

basic information that may be found in almost every other probation department in the country. This is presented under such typical chapter titles as "Nature of the Offense," "Disposition by Type of Offense," "The Age Variable," "The Sex Variable," etc. The general characteristics of the type of information presented is highly similar to that which one normally finds in the appropriate chapters on "Juvenile Delinquency" in most standard textbooks in criminology. These data are pinpointed for Los Angeles County. No comparisons are made with other data, either local or national. Recommendations and conclusions should be helpful to the local probation personnel involved.

GEORGE B. VOLD

University of Minnesota

Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society. By MARTIN H. NEUMEYER. Third edition. Van Nostrand Series in Sociology. Princeton, N.J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1961. xi, 426 pp. \$6.50.

This third edition of Neumeyer's text is conventionally organized into three parts, covering in order the topics of: (1) how much delinquency; (2) factors and conditions associated with it; and (3) its control, treatment, and prevention. Part II succeeds in summarizing in a way that will be helpful to the beginning student many, if not most, of the ideas on the social and psychological correlates of delinquency. Part III compresses a great deal of information on control and treatment measures into about one hundred pages and, given so small a space, does so with good balance.

Two negative observations may be made concerning the present edition: first, the author tends to merge delinquency into the whole field of social problems with the result that it is hard to tell sometimes what impact Neumeyer feels a factor has on delinquency apart from its impact elsewhere. Second, the author employs a multifactor approach in what he terms a "functional frame of reference." (Pp. 75, 102, 293.) This may lead the reader to despair of any theoretical explanation of delinquency, or any way of integrating separate theories into a consistent system. Neumeyer recognizes these difficulties explicitly but, in the judgment of this reviewer, does not explore fully the theoretical implications of a multifactor approach, or of an unintegrated catalogue of theoretical positions.

The material utilized in the book is current and up-to-date, or sufficiently durable to justify reference to it, if several decades old. There is a chapter on general theories of crime which draws heavily on Vold and which leaves

unsolved an old riddle: how far do explanations of adult crime apply to juvenile delinquency? The passages on character (Chapter VI), leisure and mass media (Chapter IX), and the nature of personal and social controls (Chapter XII) seem especially valuable.

In general, the book will perform a useful service in introducing the student to the complex field of delinquency and its control. It will also serve as a refresher to the practitioner who may not have been able to keep abreast of recent developments since he became a juvenile probation officer or parole agent.

THOMAS C. ESSELSTYN

San Jose State College

Liver Cirrhosis Mortality as a Means to Measure the Prevalence of Alcoholism. By KETIL BRUUN, ESKO KOURA, ROBERT E. POPHAM, JOHN R. SEELEY. Studies on the Applicability of the Jellinek Formula for the Estimation of the Number of Alcoholics in Finland. Helsinki: Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, 1960. 115 pp. 116s., paper.

Two problematic elements in the Jellinek formula for estimating the prevalence of alcoholism are the number of reported deaths from liver cirrhosis in a given year (D) and the percentage of such deaths attributable to alcoholism (P). For the United States and Canada,

P values have been estimated indirectly by complex trend analysis of mortality statistics. The present research attempted a direct point estimate of P through study of drinking and social history data in cases of reported deaths from liver cirrhosis. Trend analysis was also applied to detect possible temporal variations in the Finnish alcoholism rate and to check, for the relevant period, the correspondence between the values of P yielded by the two methods. The marked discrepancy found in the values of P led the authors to investigate the validity of the D values and to analyze the implications of alternative assumptions regarding the components of the trend analysis. The findings call into question the applicability of the Jellinek formula to Finland at the present time. Nonetheless, a rate of alcoholism was calculated using the point estimate of P. Logical analysis and limited independent evidence suggest that the rate—1.1 per cent of the adult population—is a conservative estimate. In any event, it is far below the estimated rate for the United States. (The sex ratios are roughly equivalent.)

While the general findings must be deemed inconclusive, this monograph provides a useful exposition of the Jellinek formula and highly instructive analyses of the logical and empirical problems involved in its application.

CHARLES R. SNYDER

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THE PROFESSION: REPORTS AND OPINION

IN MEMORIAM

WALTER WILLIAM PETTIT (1882-1960)

Walter William Pettit, Dean Emeritus, New York School of Social Work, Columbia University, died at Winter Park, Florida, December 23, 1960. Born in Fredonia, N.Y., he early showed the interest in the interdependence of peoples and the strengthening of international relations which was to characterize his entire professional career. Prepared for teaching, graduated from Fredonia Normal School, Dean Pettit filled a high school teaching post in the Philippines from 1901-1909. Returning to the United States, he studied at Teachers College, Columbia, receiving there his A.M. in 1912 and Ph.D. in 1918. His interest in sociology and community organization had developed rapidly and in 1915, after a short period as Field Secretary with the Playground and Recreation Association of America, he was called to the New York School of Social Work to teach community organization. This began a long and fruitful period of service and contribution to that institution which lasted, except for periods of leave of absence on important governmental assignments, until his retirement in 1947.

During World War I, Walter Pettit served the U. S. Government as a Special Relief Assistant in Petrograd. Following this he was attached to the American Commission to Negotiate the Peace, 1917-1918, in Paris. Upon his return to this country and the completion of his doctorate, he was appointed Assistant Director of the New York School of Social Work, becoming Director in 1939. It was under his leadership that the School entered into affiliation with Columbia University in 1940, at which time he was given the title of Dean. He continued to carry some classroom teaching responsibility through the years and was noted for his unusual ability

for establishing close and lasting relationships with students, as well as for his keen and intelligent participation in professional and cultural affairs. He was an active working member of the Boards of Directors of many local, national, and international agencies concerned with social and community problems and was especially gifted in stimulating and holding the interest and support of lay community leaders in the health and welfare field. A strong believer in the need for the sound development of governmental agencies in these fields, and the importance of close cooperation between public and voluntary efforts, Dean Pettit worked untiringly to stimulate the interest of students in training for positions of leadership in many parts of this country, Europe, Latin America, and Asia. He was the first one to envision and organize a student exchange program for social workers, and his name and influence remains strong in the minds and hearts of foreign students who were privileged to study under him either in New York City or in Institutes and Workshops which he led here and abroad. Walter Pettit was especially well known in Latin America where his knowledge and deep interest in the culture, problems and aspirations of the people made him respected and loved. The United Nations called upon his time and services repeatedly.

In 1948, Columbia University awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Letters to Dean Pettit in recognition of his distinguished contributions. Throughout all his years as a social worker, he maintained cordial and intimate relationships with members of the Sociology Department at Columbia, and he was an active member of the American Sociological Association. Among his published works are: "Report of a Study of the Inter-Relationship of the Work of National Social Agencies in Fourteen American Com-

munities" (with P. R. Lee and J. Hoey) 1923; "Social Salvage" (with P. R. Lee) 1924; "Russian-American Relations 1917-1920" (with C. K. Cumming); and "Case Studies in Community Organization" 1928.

MIRIAM McCaffery

New York School of Social Work

RACIAL PROBLEMS AND THE RECRUITMENT OF ACADEMIC STAFF AT SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES *

RUSSELL MIDDLETON

Florida State University

With the rapid growth of population in the United States, many reports have warned of a flood of prospective new college students who will engulf existing facilities within a few years.¹ They predict that there will be a critical shortage of competent college teachers and that by 1970 the proportion of college teachers holding the Ph.D. degree may decline from the present 40 per cent to 20 per cent. Berelson maintains that the problem has been grossly exaggerated and that the expected increase in the production of doctorates by the graduate schools should be sufficient to meet the additional needs.² Berelson's study, however, has approached the problem from a national standpoint, ignoring the special problems which certain regions may have in attracting their share of competent new college teachers. Studies of the academic recruitment process have also tended to focus upon such factors as salaries, prestige levels of institutions, academic freedom, and the personal influence of college professors, and have largely ignored special regional factors.³

* Paper presented at the meetings of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, St. Louis, August 28, 1961.

¹ Friedrich W. Strothman, *The Graduate School, Today and Tomorrow*, New York: Fund for the Advancement of Education, 1955; U.S. President's Commission on Higher Education, *Higher Education for American Democracy*, Vol. 4, *Staffing Higher Education*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1947; President's Committee on Education Beyond the High School, *Second Report to the President*, Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1957.

² Bernard Berelson, *Graduate Education in the United States*, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960, pp. 76-80.

³ Harold N. Lee, "The Factor of Economic Status in Professional Recruitment," *AAUP Bulletin*, 37 (Spring, 1951), pp. 102-110; Clifford Kirk-

The problems confronting higher education in the South are especially acute. The South shares with other regions of the United States the need for a considerable expansion of college faculties, for even by conservative estimates the southern states can expect college enrollments to increase by 75 per cent between 1958 and 1970.⁴

Perhaps more serious than the problem of numbers, however, is the problem of quality, for southern colleges and universities have on the whole traditionally been inferior to those in other regions of the country. As Odum wrote in 1936, "It is not only that the region has no university of the first ranking, but it lacks college and university scholars and administrators of topmost distinction, measured by the usual standards of achievement and recognition."⁵ Today, although the quality of most southern universities has been substantially upgraded, their relative position has changed very little. According to Berelson's rankings based on the Keniston survey of 1957, not one of the twenty-two top-ranking universities in the country was located in a southern state.⁶ Those southern political leaders whose perception of the situation is not distorted by a defensive regional pride generally agree that an effort must be made not only to meet the needs of expanding enrollments but also to raise the general qualitative level of the colleges and universities in the South.⁷

patrick and Melvin DeFleur, "Influence of Professors on the Flow of Talent to the Academic Profession," *Social Forces*, 38 (May, 1960), pp. 296-302; Kurt B. Mayer, "Salaries and Working Conditions of Sociology Teachers," *AAUP Bulletin*, 43 (Spring, 1957), pp. 43-55; Theodore Caplow and Reece J. McGee, *The Academic Marketplace*, New York: Basic Books, 1958.

⁴ John D. Long, *Needed Expansion of Facilities for Higher Education, 1958-1970*, Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1958, pp. 32-33. The same study estimates an increase of 74 per cent in college enrollments for the nation as a whole over the same period.

⁵ Howard W. Odum, *Southern Regions of the United States*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1936, p. 513. See also Wilbur A. Lazier, "Research for Prosperity in the Industrial South," in Robert E. Coker and L. R. Wilson, editors, *Research and Regional Welfare*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1946; Mary B. Pierson, *Graduate Work in the South*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947; and Wilson Gee, *Research Barriers in the South*, New York: The Century Co., 1932.

⁶ Berelson, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-128.

⁷ Florida legislators polled recently by the United Press-International cited higher quality education as one of Florida's two greatest needs. *AAUP News-*

This will be no easy task, for the factors responsible for the relatively low standing of southern colleges in the past continue to operate in the present, and the problem of quality cannot be solved simply by appropriating greater funds. Historically the intellectual climate at southern universities has been burdened with a narrow provincialism and a rigidly exacted uniformity which have stifled dissent and free inquiry. Cash speaks of the "savage ideal" of the South—"the patriotic will to hold rigidly to the ancient pattern, to repudiate innovation and novelty in thought and behavior, whatever came from outside and was felt as belonging to Yankeeism or alien parts."⁸ With such an atmosphere prevailing, much of the best talent of the South has been drained away to other campuses outside the region. Those professors who have on occasion dared to take a position contrary to popular opinion have found themselves subject to bitter personal attack and perhaps dismissal.⁹

Questions of racial policy especially have served as a focus for academic discontent and conflict. Ashmore has commented that the subject of integration in the public schools is off limits for southern intellectuals: "They discuss it only at their peril, and those subject to official reprisal or sensitive to social pressures have been made fully aware of the price they must pay."¹⁰ Thus the professor, particularly if he comes to the South from another region, often finds a wide gulf between himself and a hostile community. If he holds liberal racial views, he may experience inner turmoil and conflict attempting to maintain his sense of personal integrity in the face of institutional pressures for expedient conformity.¹¹

Letter, Florida State University Chapter, January, 1961.

⁸ W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South*, Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1941, p. 320.

⁹ See William H. Nicholls, *Southern Tradition and Regional Progress*, Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960, pp. 141-153; Wilma Dykeman and James Stokely, *Neither Black Nor White*, New York: Rinehart, 1957, pp. 170-192; Cash, *op. cit.*, pp. 323-333; "Professor's Critical Letter Causes LSU Investigation," *Southern School News*, 7 (January, 1961), p. 11.

¹⁰ Harry S. Ashmore, *An Epitaph for Dixie*, New York: W. W. Norton, 1957, pp. 155-156.

¹¹ This problem is discussed in Iredell Jenkins, "Segregation and the Professor," *Yale Review*, 46 (December, 1956), pp. 311-320, and Eugene Freeman, "Principles and Prudence in Integration," *Yale Review*, 47 (December, 1957), pp. 310-320. Professor Jenkins, who is head of the philosophy department at the University of Alabama, has recently come under attack by the Ku Klux Klan in Alabama. Student Klansmen at Alabama are being en-

Although the southern professor is generally sufficiently intimidated that he does not speak out on the race issue, he finds it difficult to escape it. The race issue is omnipresent. Riesman reports that the social science professors at southern colleges and universities were relatively unconcerned about the issue of McCarthyism in the Lazarsfeld-Thielens study: "... with few exceptions outside the Border States, the issues that were salient—if any were—arose out of the fight over desegregation; and at these institutions the political focus of many of the survey's questions seemed beside the point."¹²

The importance attached to the race issue and related problems by persons in the academic profession is such that the issue clearly must be taken into account in studies of the recruitment process at southern colleges and universities. Ashmore believes that "there is no doubt that the great intellectual blight has produced a steady and mounting drain on Southern faculties."¹³ Nicholls maintains that there has been an erosion of quality also, through the use of a screening process at many southern institutions which results in the selection of professors who are "safe" at the expense of analytical ability, social conscience, and personal courage.¹⁴

Southern leaders have been very much concerned about the adverse effects of racial conflicts and the closure of schools upon the decisions of industrial corporations to build plants in the South.¹⁵ The possible adverse effects of racial problems upon the recruitment of staff in the colleges and universities, however, have not received very much public attention, even though the long range effects might be equally as serious.

METHOD

This study was undertaken in April and May, 1960, to determine the extent to which racial

couraged to infiltrate campus organizations and report to the Klan which organizations, professors, and students are "too liberal." A ministerial student interning at the university was beaten in March, 1961, by hooded men, whom he called Klansmen, in reprisal for an interracial seminar which had been conducted at his church. See "Student Klansmen Told To Watch 'Liberals' On University Campus," *Southern School News*, 7 (May, 1961), p. 3.

¹² David Riesman, "Some Observations on the Interviewing in the Teacher Apprehension Study," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Wagner Thielens, Jr., *The Academic Mind: Social Scientists in a Time of Crisis*, Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1958, p. 331.

¹³ Ashmore, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

¹⁴ Nicholls, *op. cit.*, p. 149.

¹⁵ "Business in a Troubled South," *Business Week* (March 24, 1956), pp. 31-34; Nicholls, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-123.

problems and related issues hampered the recruitment of academic staff at colleges and universities in the southern states. The study focuses upon the ten southern states in which fewer than 10 per cent of the bi-racial school districts had been desegregated by 1960: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.¹⁶ The study deals specifically only with eight subject matter fields which are broadly representative of the curriculum in arts and sciences: sociology, political science, English, history, psychology, mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

The first part of the study involves a survey of the experience of southern department chairmen in the recruitment of staff. The three colleges or universities with the largest faculties in each of the ten southern states were selected for the sample.¹⁷ Confidential questionnaires were sent to the department chairmen representing each of the eight subject matter fields at each institution. When two or more of the fields were represented by the same department, the chairman was asked to fill out a separate questionnaire for each of the specific fields. An original request and one follow-up letter to non-respondents yielded 207 replies out of a possible 240, a return of 86 per cent. Of the 207 responding, 182 reported that they had filled or attempted to fill openings at the assistant professor level or above during the previous three years, and 123 had had at least one resignation by a member of the department at the assistant professor level or above.

The second part of the study involves a questionnaire survey of the attitudes of doctoral candidates at the leading universities in the United States toward the possibility of teaching at southern colleges or universities. This group was chosen for study since a large number of the new openings during the next few years will need to be filled from their ranks, especially if present qualitative levels are to be maintained or raised. Only those who expressed an interest in the possibility of teaching were retained in the sample. An attempt was made to secure the cooperation of the five departments in each field which had granted the greatest number of Ph.D.'s

between 1956 and 1959. In those cases in which cooperation could not be obtained, the next highest ranking department was chosen. Thus 29 departments rank among the top five, 4 rank sixth, and 7 rank from seventh to tenth. In mathematics, and to a lesser extent in psychology, physics, and chemistry, the highest ranking institutions in terms of number of Ph.D.'s granted are less well represented than in the other fields. Nineteen of the departments are in universities located in the Northeast, fifteen are in the Middle West, six are in the Far West, and none is in the South or Southwest.

Unfortunately, it was not possible under the circumstances of the study to use probability sampling techniques with regard to the doctoral candidates. For the most part, each department handled the distribution of questionnaires to the doctoral candidates in its own fashion, with replies being mailed by each respondent directly back to the investigator. In the absence of any assurance that the resulting sample is actually representative of all the doctoral candidates enrolled in the departments, this portion of the study should be regarded as tentative and exploratory. Completed questionnaires were received from 645 doctoral candidates.

For comparison purposes, replies were also secured from 51 doctoral candidates in the eight fields enrolled at one state university in the South.

SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT CHAIRMAN

Those southern department chairmen who had attempted to fill vacancies at the assistant professor level or above during the previous three years were asked to judge the extent to which they believed racial problems in their area—such as civic unrest, incipient violence, the possible closure of public schools, and local traditions and attitudes—had hampered them in the recruitment of desirable staff members. Their replies are presented in Table 1. A majority of

TABLE 1. ASSESSMENT BY DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN AT SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH RACIAL PROBLEMS HAVE HAMPERED RECRUITMENT OF STAFF

Extent to Which Racial Problems Are Judged to Have Hampered Recruitment of Staff in Previous Three Years	N	Per Cent
Not at all	87	47.8
Slightly	43	23.6
Moderately	44	24.2
Greatly	8	4.4
Total	182	100.0

¹⁶ These states correspond to Odum's Southeast region, with the exception that Kentucky is not included here. See Odum, *op. cit.*

¹⁷ In one southern state, however, the fifth-ranking institution was taken rather than the third or fourth, which are bound by special restrictions in employing faculty. At one all faculty members must sign a fundamentalist religious creed annually. The other is a military school in which most of the faculty are officers in the armed forces.

the chairmen, 52.2 per cent, did believe that racial problems had hampered them, and more than a fourth of the chairmen reported that the race issue was a moderate or a great handicap. Almost half did not believe that racial problems had had any effect with regard to recruitment for their departments, but many of these were apprehensive about the future, and some remarked that other departments within the same institution had not been so fortunate.

Chairmen in the larger universities with extensive graduate programs were especially likely to have experienced recruiting difficulties that were due to racial problems, for they were more likely to compete in the national market for graduates of the leading universities. One chairman complains that "racial problems have made recruitment at the top level quite difficult if not impossible," and another reports that "... a relatively large number of the best qualified persons almost automatically exclude the South in considering employment." This, of course, reduces the pool of available persons from whom a selection can be made. Many of the chairmen also believe that the situation is becoming worse:

In correspondence with prospective faculty members, it is not infrequent that someone declines an invitation to apply for a position in the Deep South. In interviewing prospective faculty members at the national meetings, it is quite noticeable that the number of candidates willing to be interviewed for faculty positions in the Deep South is limited. As a guess, I would say it is now about twice as hard for me to find a good candidate for a faculty position as it was before the Supreme Court decision on public school integration.

In Table 2 the percentages of department chairmen who believe that racial problems have had some negative effect upon recruitment are shown by state. As judged by the chairmen, Arkansas has had the greatest difficulty, even though desegregation has proceeded further in Arkansas than in any of the other states in the group except Tennessee and perhaps Virginia. The well publicized Little Rock school crisis probably is primarily responsible.¹⁸ Chairmen in the deep southern states of Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama have had only slightly less difficulty than those in Arkansas. The percentage experiencing difficulty is lowest in Tennessee, which has a relatively liberal reputation regarding the race issue. Surprisingly, the percentage is

¹⁸ Another contributing factor may have been the passage by the legislature in 1958 of a law requiring all teachers in Arkansas to file an affidavit listing their memberships in and contributions to all organizations during the past five years. This law, however, was declared unconstitutional by the U.S. Supreme Court in December, 1960.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN WHO BELIEVE THEIR RECRUITMENT OF STAFF HAS BEEN HAMPERED BY RACIAL PROBLEMS, BY STATE

State in Which Department Is Located	Number of Chairmen	Percentage of Chairmen Who Believe Recruitment Has Been Hampered by Racial Problems
Alabama	15	60.0
Arkansas	17	76.5
Florida	20	50.0
Georgia	19	73.7
Louisiana	21	52.4
Mississippi	15	60.0
North Carolina	19	52.6
South Carolina	21	33.3
Tennessee	21	28.6
Virginia	14	42.9
Total	182	52.2

very low for South Carolina as well. It should be borne in mind, however, that these figures reflect not only the liberality of the state with regard to racial questions but also whether the department chairmen wish to hire faculty members from within or outside the region.¹⁹

Some of the chairmen, especially in North Carolina and Florida, commented that they believed they enjoyed a competitive advantage over other states in the region because of the relative absence of racial conflicts thus far in their states, but as one remarked, "This is not necessarily true when we are recruiting from outside the South if a person carries one unified picture or stereotype of the whole South."

A breakdown by subject matter fields is presented in Table 3. Differences among the fields are not great, although the chairmen in sociology and physics have experienced more difficulty and those in history and English have experienced less difficulty in recruiting staff than the chairmen in the other fields. Sociologists are probably more aware of and sensitive to the operation of the racial factor and are thus more likely to report it. In physics the problem is

¹⁹ The situation in a given state may change rapidly also. Recruitment at institutions in Louisiana, for example, apparently has become much more difficult since the fall of 1960 and the demonstrations over desegregated schools in New Orleans. One department chairman in Louisiana reported in February, 1961 that the situation had changed for the worse since the data for this study were collected: "I have offered seven appointments to instructorships during the last month and have had seven refusals. In other years (speaking from previous experience) I would have been successful in four or five of these offers."

TABLE 3. PERCENTAGE OF SOUTHERN DEPARTMENT CHAIRMEN WHO BELIEVE THEIR RECRUITMENT OF STAFF HAS BEEN HAMPERED BY RACIAL PROBLEMS, BY FIELD

Field	Number of Chairmen	Percentage of Chairmen Who Believe Recruitment Has Been Hampered by Racial Problems
Sociology	23	65.2
Political Science	17	52.9
English	23	43.5
History	21	33.3
Psychology	26	53.8
Mathematics	25	52.0
Physics	22	63.6
Chemistry	25	52.0
Total	182	52.2

made more acute by the intense competition with industry for the limited supply of qualified applicants, whereas applicants in history and English generally do not have as wide a choice of positions.

The principal stumbling block reported by the southern chairmen in recruiting new staff has been the concern by the applicants about the impact of the racial problems upon their children. As one chairman in Florida pointed out, "It is difficult to recruit married staff members with children who might be exposed to undesirable segregationist influences in school." Even more often the applicants are concerned about the possible closure of the public schools in the desegregation controversy. Even if the public schools should remain open, there is also the problem of quality.

Another condition which many chairmen believe makes it more difficult for them to attract qualified staff members is the anti-intellectual climate of the South and the absence of a strong tradition of academic freedom.

Almost one-fifth of the southern department chairmen believe that it is advisable to offer special inducements, such as higher salaries or ranks than would ordinarily be offered, in order to compete with equivalent colleges or universities outside the South for desirable candidates. They generally recognize that even with special inducements many candidates still will not even consider a position in a southern state; yet, as a chairman in Florida points out, "Special inducements must be offered to compensate those who feel not quite so strongly." Only one-tenth of the chairmen who had attempted to fill positions during the previous three years had been able to offer such special inducements, however, largely because of the shortage of funds available.

Of those department chairmen who had lost staff members through resignations during the previous three years, approximately one-third believed that the racial problems of the area had played at least some part in the decision to leave. Whether this is a realistic appraisal or an understatement cannot, of course, be determined without a study of those who have departed. Caplow and McGee suggest, however, that "information screens" tend to surround the reasons for leaving an academic post, and the chairman and the peers of the departing member rarely agree in detail concerning the reasons for the departure.²⁰ Nevertheless, it seems probable that a fairly large percentage of those who have resigned their positions have done so at least in part out of a desire to escape from the problems centering around the race issue. Three of the chairmen themselves were leaving, in large part because of the racial problem.

If racial problems should become acute in a community, the number of resignations by academic staff can be expected to increase greatly. An AAUP survey carried out at one of the most highly respected universities in the South revealed that 25 per cent of the staff would leave if the public schools in the local community were closed. This would, of course, be a crippling and possibly irreparable blow to the university.

In the recruitment process the pool of applicants is drastically reduced not only by the reluctance of many applicants to accept positions in the South but also in some cases by the refusal of the department chairman to hire anyone with articulate liberal racial views. Some of these chairmen are simply interested in avoiding controversy, but others appear to subscribe to the traditional southern racial views.

Such chairmen represent a minority view, but even those with more liberal racial views often find that they are forced to rely primarily upon the products of southern graduate schools or upon native southerners trained outside the region. They tend to regard this as an undesirable expedient which results in a weaker staff, as the following two chairmen point out:

At present I am more careful in recruiting, leaning heavily toward Southerners and being extremely careful to explain the situation to prospects with children. . . . I have no doubt that the problem of integration has made my task of staffing more difficult and has resulted in a weaker staff than I would otherwise have had if the threat to close the schools had not arisen.

Racial problems affect greatly the recruitment of good staff. Many will not even apply for jobs in places like this. There is no shortage of applicants, however, if one wants less able men, particularly young men and/or those with

²⁰ Caplow and McGee, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

southern background who want to come 'home' and take things easy. If we get good men they tend to leave for greener and freer fields.

Some of the chairmen question whether there are even enough southern bred or trained persons to fill the vacancies at the colleges and universities in the South without a serious drop in qualitative standards. They point out that many of the graduate students in their own departments are reluctant to take positions within the region.

DOCTORAL CANDIDATES

We have examined the impact of racial problems upon academic recruitment from the point of view of southern department chairmen, the individuals who are most directly involved in

The doctoral candidates were also asked how they would feel about teaching in each of the ten southern states if they were offered a job at a respected college or university at a good salary and rank. The answers of the candidates at nonsouthern universities are reported in Table 5. More than half indicate that they would not consider any position located in Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, or South Carolina. Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina are the states most acceptable to the candidates, but approximately one-fifth would not consider a position even in these states. For each state also there is a large group of between one-fifth and one-third of the candidates who would consider a position in the state only if the rank or salary were higher than they could get elsewhere. On the other hand, not more than three or four

TABLE 4. REGION OF PREFERENCE OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATES *

Region	Candidates at Nonsouthern Universities (N = 645)		Candidates at Southern University (N = 51)	
	Weighted Total of Rankings **	Rank Order of Regions	Weighted Total of Rankings **	Rank Order of Regions
Northeast	2526	1	169	2
Far West	2470	2	175	1
Middle West	1746	3	131	3
Southwest	1462	4	123	5
South	964	5	130	4

* "In which region of the country would you most like to teach?"

** Summation of first place ratings times weight of 5, plus second place ratings times weight of 4, etc.

negotiating to secure new staff members. The perceptions of the problem by the chairmen may be unrealistic, however, and it is also essential to study the attitudes of the prospective candidates themselves toward teaching at institutions in the South. Let us turn then to an examination of the reactions of Ph.D. candidates enrolled at the leading universities in the country to the possibility of accepting positions at southern colleges or universities.

A summary of the responses to the question, "In which region of the country would you most like to teach?" is presented in Table 4. The Northeast is rated first, slightly ahead of the Far West. The Middle West and Southwest rank third and fourth, and the South is rated a rather distant fifth. Indeed, the weighted total of rankings for the South, 964, is only slightly above the lowest possible score, 645, which would have been obtained if all the subjects had rated the South fifth. Even among the doctoral candidates at the southern university the South is rated no better than fourth. Like the other candidates, they are most eager to teach in the Far West or Northeast.

per cent indicate that they would welcome the opportunity to teach in a given state, with the exception again of Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina, where a little more than ten per cent feel attracted.

The possibility of employing native southerners trained outside the region or graduates of southern universities may be examined with reference to Table 6. The percentage who would not consider teaching in a state or who would consider it only if the rank or salary were higher than they could get elsewhere is presented for both native southerners and native nonsoutherners at the leading universities and for the candidates at the southern university as well. For the most part the differences between the native nonsoutherners and the native southerners are not great, although the southerners are somewhat less reluctant to teach in each of the southern states. Still, a majority even of the native southerners are reluctant to teach in most of the southern states. Surprisingly, the candidates at the southern university tend to be even more hostile to the Deep South than are the candidates at the nonsouthern universities. They are, how-

TABLE 5. REACTIONS OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATES AT NONSOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES TO ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT IN THE SOUTH *

State of Possible Employment	Would Not Consider State	Would Consider Only If Rank or Salary Higher Than Could Get Elsewhere	No Objection to State	Would Welcome Opportunity to Teach in State
Alabama	62.4%	22.9%	12.5%	2.2%
Arkansas	59.8	25.8	12.7	1.7
Florida	16.6	37.3	34.2	11.9
Georgia	57.0	23.5	17.0	2.5
Louisiana	44.9	31.1	21.0	3.0
Mississippi	67.8	19.0	11.9	1.4
N. Carolina	22.5	34.8	32.2	10.5
S. Carolina	52.0	26.1	19.2	2.7
Tennessee	34.9	33.5	27.1	4.5
Virginia	19.2	32.2	36.9	11.7

* "How would you feel about teaching in each of the following southern states if you were offered a job at a respected college or university in the state at a good salary and rank?" N = 639.

ever, less hostile to the southern states with more moderate racial policies, such as Florida, Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee. The general reluctance of the students at the southern university to teach in the Deep South is perhaps explained by the fact that only 44 per cent are natives of the southern or border states. Their attendance at a university in one of the more moderate southern states, however, is indicative of a somewhat more favorable attitude toward the South or at least a tendency to distinguish sharply between different areas of the South.

Differences in the reactions of doctoral candidates at the nonsouthern universities to the possibility of teaching in the South are shown by field of specialization in Table 7. Again the differences are slight. The mean number of states that the candidate would not consider ranges from a minimum of 3.63 in chemistry to a

maximum of 4.94 in physics. The mean number of states that the candidate would not consider or would consider only if he received a higher rank or salary than he could get elsewhere ranges from 6.54 in English and chemistry to 7.78 in history. There are no consistent differences among the general areas of humanities, behavioral sciences, and physical sciences.

The doctoral candidates at the nonsouthern universities were also asked to indicate what they felt were the disadvantages and the advantages of living and teaching in the South. A check list of disadvantages and advantages was constructed consisting of items that were most often mentioned in the literature and in pretest interviewing. The respondent was given the opportunity to list additional advantages or disadvantages, but almost none did. Several persons volunteered the comment that they felt the

TABLE 6. PERCENTAGE OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATES RELUCTANT TO TEACH IN SOUTHERN STATES *

State of Possible Employment	Candidates at Nonsouthern Universities			Candidates at Southern University
	Native Nonsoutherners	Native Southerners **	Total	
Alabama	87.1%	72.2%	85.3%	86.3%
Arkansas	86.4	79.8	85.6	88.2
Florida	56.2	38.0	53.9	27.5
Georgia	82.5	66.2	80.5	90.0
Louisiana	78.1	61.5	76.0	76.0
Mississippi	87.8	78.5	86.7	92.2
North Carolina	59.1	44.3	57.2	40.0
South Carolina	80.0	64.6	78.1	76.5
Tennessee	70.8	51.3	68.4	49.0
Virginia	53.8	34.2	51.4	41.2
Number of cases	560	79	639	51

* Per cent responding that they would not consider teaching in a state or would consider it only if the rank or salary were higher than they could get elsewhere.

** Natives of the ten southern states listed above plus natives of the following border states: Delaware, D.C., Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, Texas, West Virginia.

TABLE 7. REACTIONS OF DOCTORAL CANDIDATES AT NONSOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES TO ACADEMIC EMPLOYMENT IN THE SOUTH, BY FIELD OF SPECIALIZATION

Field of Specialization of Candidates	N	Mean Number of States Candidate Would Not Consider	Mean Number of States Candidate Would Not Consider or Would Consider Only If Received Higher Rank or Salary
Sociology	80	4.66	6.70
Political Science	62	3.77	6.66
English	70	3.84	6.54
History	78	4.56	7.78
Psychology	96	4.02	7.04
Mathematics	70	4.73	7.51
Physics	77	4.94	7.60
Chemistry	112	3.68	6.54
Total	645	4.25	7.03

check list covered the reasons for their attitudes toward the South very well. For each item the respondent was permitted to check one of four responses: important disadvantage, slight disadvantage, not a disadvantage, or not a characteristic of the South. The respondents were also asked to indicate what they felt were the three most important disadvantages.

The responses to the check list on disadvantages are summarized in Table 8. The great importance attached to the race issue and related problems is immediately apparent from the table. The racial prejudice of southerners is rated as the most serious problem, with almost three-fourths of the doctoral candidates considering it an important disadvantage and another one-fifth rating it a slight disadvantage. The second-ranking item, the fear of an undesirable community influence on their children's character and ideals, is directly related to the race issue, for the primary concern is that the children may acquire segregationist racial views from their associates outside the home. Even the item ranked third in importance, the lack of academic freedom, is tied closely to the race issue, for academic freedom tends to be weakest in the area of questions of racial policy.²¹ Other disadvantages which are directly related to the race issue are the possibility that racial problems may lead to civic unrest, violence, and the breakdown of law and order (rated seventh); the possibility that public schools may be closed over the desegregation issue (rated tenth); and the failure of the police and the courts to administer justice fairly (rated eleventh).

²¹ For example, one southern state university recently refused to permit its faculty members to accept any further research grants or contracts from federal agencies, which, by executive order of President Kennedy, now include nondiscrimination clauses.

Professional problems constitute the second most important area of concern to the doctoral candidates. In addition to the lack of academic freedom, they believe that colleges and universities in the South generally have low academic standards, poor research facilities, low prestige, and low salaries. The low academic standards and low prestige may be an indirect consequence of the race issue insofar as it operates as a negative factor in the recruitment of staff.

It is significant that the factor of low salaries is ranked no higher than ninth out of eighteen items, and only one-third regard it as an important disadvantage. This suggests that college and university professors are less motivated by materialistic considerations than by the general cultural and intellectual climate in their choice of positions. This is supported by another series of questions in the study in which the respondents were asked to indicate the importance of various factors in their choice of any academic position. The factor rated most important was "a stimulating intellectual environment." The opportunity to do research was rated second, and "a good place for my family to live" was rated third. Salary was rated only sixth in importance. There is strong evidence, then, that colleges and universities in the South are faced with serious problems in the recruitment of staff that cannot be overcome simply by appropriating more money and raising salaries.

Other factors, such as provincialism, backwardness, conservatism, religious fundamentalism, one-party government, the shortage of cultural attractions, and substandard community services were of lesser concern to the doctoral candidates. Even with regard to these, however, a majority did regard them as characteristics of the South and considered them to be disadvantages of teaching in the South.

Let us turn now to a consideration of possible

TABLE 8. DISADVANTAGES OF LIVING AND TEACHING IN THE SOUTH MENTIONED BY DOCTORAL CANDIDATES AT NONSOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES *

	Percentage of Doctoral Candidates			
Disadvantages Mentioned	Important Disadvantage	Slight Disadvantage	Not a Disadvan- tage or Not a Characteristic of the South	Rank order of Importance **
Professional Problems				
Low Salaries	33.8%	46.8%	19.4%	9
Low prestige of colleges	42.2	39.1	18.7	8
Low academic standards	53.6	26.1	20.3	4
Poor research facilities in my field	35.2	25.3	39.5	5
Lack of academic freedom	52.7	15.7	31.6	3
Characteristics of Southerners				
Racial prejudice	73.9	19.0	7.1	1
Provincialism and prejudice against outsiders*	42.2	32.1	25.7	12
Backwardness	31.0	36.2	32.8	15
Political and economic conservatism	26.7	35.0	38.3	16
Religious fundamentalism	29.9	33.3	36.8	14
Problems of Child Rearing				
Public schools may be closed over desegregation issue	66.1	20.7	13.2	10
Public schools of poor quality	63.8	18.3	17.9	6
Undesirable community influence on child's character and ideals	62.2	15.7	22.1	2
Community Problems				
One-party government	34.2	38.1	27.7	17
Police and courts do not administer justice fairly	52.5	22.9	24.6	11
Race problem may lead to civic unrest, violence, and break- down of law and order	55.2	30.9	13.9	7
Shortage of cultural attractions	39.8	37.5	22.7	13
Substandard community services	19.1	37.6	43.3	18

* The number of individuals responding to each item varies from 575 (on substandard community services) to 631 (on racial prejudice).

** Computed from a separate question asking the candidates to rate the three most important disadvantages.

compensating advantages to employment in the South. Although the conflict over desegregation and other racial problems tends by and large to be demoralizing to those with liberal racial views, in many instances it does have the function of creating an *esprit de corps* among the embattled liberal professors. They may share a greater sense of purpose and responsibility that gives their work greater zest. This paradoxical "advantage," however, is not readily apparent to the applicant who has had no experience with the South, and it probably does not play an important role in their decisions concerning employment.

Responses of the doctoral candidates to the check list of advantages of living and teaching in the South are presented in Table 9. Several of the southern department chairmen expressed

the view that the climate of the South and the lower cost of living served to compensate for the disadvantages related to racial problems. However, neither of these factors is regarded as an important advantage by more than 14 per cent of the doctoral candidates. Indeed, almost half do not consider the climate of the southern states to be desirable. It does not appear, then, that these factors are sufficiently important to counter-balance the disadvantages that the candidates feel.

The other factors are considered to be of even less importance than cost of living and climate. The missionary impulse of the candidates is not strong enough to create an enthusiasm for the greater opportunities for service in the South. Some of the candidates feel no obligation to service because of their lack of identification

TABLE 9. ADVANTAGES OF LIVING AND TEACHING IN THE SOUTH MENTIONED BY DOCTORAL CANDIDATES AT NONSOUTHERN UNIVERSITIES *

Advantages Mentioned	Percentage of Doctoral Candidates			Rank order of Importance **
	Important Advantage	Slight Advantage	Not an Advantage or Not a Characteristic of the South	
Lower cost of living	14.3%	66.1%	19.6%	1
Desirable climate	14.1	38.2	47.7	2
Greater opportunities for service	13.8	20.6	65.6	3
Slower pace of life	6.5	28.5	65.0	4
Friendliness of southerners	9.2	27.7	63.1	5
Special research opportunities	7.5	9.8	82.7	6
Availability of maids	3.5	25.4	71.1	7
Opportunity to be near relatives or friends	1.9	8.2	89.9	8

* The number of individuals responding to each item varies from 595 (on relatives and friends) to 633 (on desirable climate).

** Computed from a separate question asking the candidates to rate the three most important advantages.

with the area. Others, unwilling to play an accommodative role, foresee practical difficulties:

I suppose an argument could be made out in favor of teaching in an area where one might "serve" by disagreeing with the community—but I gather that not even college presidents are as yet able to protect enlightened students and teachers against the taboos of the South. So how could one serve? If I was convinced by a Southern institution that I might come and be as disagreeable as I liked—and have my students protected as well—then I would consider the proposition.

Factors such as the slower pace of life, the friendliness of southerners, special research opportunities, the availability of maids, and the opportunity to be near relatives or friends are most often considered not to be characteristics or advantages of the South. Less than 10 per cent regard any of these factors as an important advantage.

In general, then, the reactions of the doctoral candidates toward accepting positions in the South tend to be negative. The data must be interpreted with caution, for there may be some tendency for the candidates to respond to questions about jobs in terms of idealized alternatives rather than practical alternatives. The verbal choices may not correspond with the actual choices made under more realistic conditions. Even so, these data do indicate that a majority of the candidates share a general negative picture of the South which makes them reluctant to consider positions in the South.

CONCLUSION

This survey of the views of southern department chairmen and doctoral candidates at the

leading universities in the country indicates that the racial problems of the South represent a major obstacle to the recruitment of well qualified staff members at southern colleges and universities. A majority of the southern department chairmen believe that the racial problems of their states have had a detrimental effect upon recruitment, at least to some degree. The severity of the problem is indicated, however, only by the data from the doctoral candidates. It seems apparent that most of the southern department chairmen underestimate the degree to which racial problems affect their recruitment of staff. A large proportion of the doctoral candidates are simply unwilling to consider any teaching position in many of the southern states and never enter into negotiations with southern chairmen. The chairmen therefore may be unaware of the extent to which their choices are actually limited. Although it is true that many very able individuals are willing to teach at southern institutions, the operation of any general factor of selectivity that eliminates beforehand more than half of the prospects from whom a choice can be made must inevitably result in a lower general qualitative level for southern faculties.

The economic factor is, of course, also responsible for the relatively low attainments of higher education in the South, for most southern colleges and universities have suffered from a lack of funds. It is not true, however, that present deficiencies can be remedied by purely economic measures—by appropriating more funds and raising faculty salaries.²² Adequate

²² Cf. Odum, *op. cit.*, pp. 523-527.

financial support is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for raising qualitative levels. As this study indicates, it will not be possible to attract the staff to build colleges and universities on a level with those in other regions of the country until there is a fundamental change in

the cultural patterns of the South itself. Perhaps the industrialization of the South may in time bring about a shift in values and a breakdown of sectionalism, but for the immediate future the prospects for higher education in the South are dubious.

OFFICIAL REPORTS AND PROCEEDINGS

Notice of the 1962 ASA Annual Meeting and ISA Fifth World Congress

The 1962 Annual Meeting of the Association will be held at the Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C., August 29, 30, 31 and September 1, immediately preceding the Fifth World Congress of Sociology of the International Sociological Association. The American Sociological Association will participate in the Fifth World Congress in a joint session on *The Sociologists, The Policymakers, and The Public* on September 2, 1962. The program outlines for each are announced below.

The following sessions and chairmen have been arranged by President Paul Lazarsfeld and the 1962 Program Committee:

Program Theme: The Uses of Sociology

Sessions and Chairmen

The Role of the Sociologist

The Sociologist as Consultant

Orville Brim, Russell Sage Foundation

The Sociologist as Staff Member

John W. Riley, Rutgers University

The Sociologist in Government

Henry Riecken, Bethesda, Maryland

The Foundations and Applied Sociology

Donald Young, Russell Sage Foundation

The Universities and Applied Social Research

Talcott Parsons, Harvard University

Case Studies of Social Research Institutes

Daniel O. Price, University of North Carolina

Strategy of Applied Sociological Research

David Sills, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

The Role of the Sociologist in the Understanding of the Contemporary Scene

Charles Page, Princeton University

Scientific Issues

Social Theory and Applied Sociology

Robert Merton, Columbia University

Available Knowledge and Policy

Bernard Berelson, Columbia University

Evaluation of Policy

Herbert Hyman, Columbia University

Uses of Sociology by Other Social Sciences

Neil Smelser, University of California, Berkeley

Practical Applications of Simulation and Mathematical Models

James Coleman, Johns Hopkins University

Moral and Intellectual Problematic of Applied Sociology

Alfred McClung Lee, Brooklyn College

Public Affairs

Armed Services

Conrad Taeuber, U.S. Bureau of Census

Foreign Affairs

W. Phillips Davison, Council on Foreign Affairs

Developing Countries

Wilbert Moore, Princeton University

Urban Planning

Clarence Senior, Brooklyn College

Political Parties

Morris Janowitz, University of Chicago

The Economy

Agriculture

Charles Loomis, Michigan State University

The Consumer

Charles Glock, University of California, Berkeley

Managerial Sociology

Abraham Zelenik, Harvard Business School

Productivity and Supervision

Robert Dubin, University of Oregon

Manpower and Unemployment

Abram Jaffe, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University

Union-Management Relations

William H. Form, U.S. Educational Foundation, Turin, Italy

The Use of Social Intelligence by Unions

Harold L. Wilensky, University of Michigan

*The Professions**Education*

Joshua A. Fishman, Yeshiva University

Law

Hans Zeisel, University of Chicago

Mass Media

Joseph Klapper, New York City

Medicine

Patricia Kendall, Columbia University

The Ministry

Gibson Winter, University of Chicago

Social Work

Henry J. Meyer, University of Michigan

*Persistent Social Problems**Delinquent Behavior*

Richard A. Cloward, New York School of Social Work

Mental Health

John Clausen, Institute of Human Development, University of California, Berkeley

General Health Problems

Edward Suchman, N.Y.C. Department of Health

National Population Policies

Kingsley Davis, University of California, Berkeley

War and Peace

Amitai W. Etzioni, University of California, Berkeley

*The Life Cycle**Adolescents: Values and Occupational Orientations*

Fred L. Strodbeck, University of Chicago

Counseling the Adult and His Family

William J. Goode, Columbia University

Old Age and Social Structure

Gordon Streib, Cornell University

Work and Career

Daniel Bell, Columbia University

The Individual in Large Scale Organizations

Theodore Caplow, Columbia University

Utilization of Leisure

Max Kaplan, Boston University

*Panel Discussions**Sociological Observations on Desegregation*

Thomas F. Pettigrew, Harvard University

Sociology in High School Programs (Joint with the American Studies Association)

To be announced

The Consumer of Sociology

To be announced

Additional Panel Discussions to be arranged

*Traditional Sessions**Criminology*

Paul Tappan, New York University, (tentative)

Family Structure

Nelson Foote, General Electric Company

History of Social Theory

Sigmund Diamond, Columbia University

Human Ecology

Leo Schnore, University of Wisconsin

Medical Sociology

To be announced

Methodology

To be announced

Occupations and Professions

Erwin Smigel, New York University

Political Sociology

Seymour Lipset, University of California, Berkeley

Social Change

William A. Kornhauser, Center for International Studies, Princeton University

Social Deviance and Disorganization

To be announced

Social Organization

Joseph Gusfield, University of Illinois, Urbana

Social Psychology

To be announced

Sociology of Education

To be announced

Sociology of Religion

William Kolb, Carleton College

Social Stratification

Gerhard Lenski, University of Michigan

Members may submit papers directly to the chairmen or, if they are uncertain about the appropriate chairman, to the Program Committee in care of William J. Goode, 409 General Studies Building, Columbia University, New York 27, New York. Papers should not exceed 1,500 words in length and must be received by Febru-

ary 1, 1962 at the latest. In order to allow the widest opportunity to participate in the annual program, each person is allowed to read only one paper if he is the sole author, and to contribute to two sessions only if he is joint author in each case or is a chairman or discussant in one case.

The International Sociological Association will hold its Fifth World Congress of Sociology at the Hotel Shoreham, Washington, D.C., September 2-8, 1962, at the invitation of the American Sociological Association and under the auspices of UNESCO.

Four major themes have been organized as follows:

The Sociologist, the Policy-makers, and the Public
The Sociology of Development
The Nature and Problems of Sociological Theory
The Sociology of Knowledge

The first theme, *The Sociologist, the Policy-makers, and the Public* will be the topic of a joint session with the American Sociological Association on September 2 in which communication between the sociologists and the policy-makers, and between the sociologists and the general public will be illustrated by a number of national contributions. There will be one working group.

Two plenary sessions will be devoted to *The Sociology of Development*: "The First Stages of Growth" and "The Maintenance of Growth." Five working groups each to meet in three sessions have been organized around the following topics:

The Break with Traditionalism: Case Studies
 Religion and Development
 Urban-Rural Studies
 Citizenship and Political Authority
 Traditional and Modern Elites

One plenary session and four working groups have been organized around the topic *The Na-*

ture and Problems of Sociological Theory. The working groups will discuss:

Historical and Comparative Studies
 Functionalism
 Marxism
 Models and Theory Formulation

Organization of the theme *The Sociology of Knowledge* will be announced.

Research Sub-committees of the International Sociological Association are collaborating with the Secretariat in the organization of sessions open to all participants in the Congress. Sessions are being arranged on:

Social Stratification and Social Mobility
 Industrial Sociology
 Urban-Rural Sociology
 Sociology of the Family
 Political Sociology
 Sociology of Religion
 Psychiatric Sociology
 Sociology of Mass Communications

Among the contributors to the Congress will be the following:

T. Agersnap, R. Aron, G. Balandier, R. F. Behrendt, A. Bergstrasser, N. Birnbaum, H. Blumer, T. B. Bottomore, F. Braudel, A. Briggs, S. D. Clark, R. Clemens, A. N. J. den Hollander, S. C. Dube, S. N. Eisenstadt, F. Fernandez, G. P. Franzev, F. Fromm, G. Friedmann, H. Friis, E. Gellner, G. Germani, D. Ghosh, R. Girod, D. Glass, Mme. R. Glass, S. Groenman, G. Gurvitch, R. Hill, J. Hochfeld, B. F. Hoselitz, R. Konig, P. Lazarsfeld, G. Le'Bras, S. M. Lipset, J. Maquet, T. H. Marshall, D. P. Mukerji, E. Nagel, S. Ossowski, A. Pizzorno, S. Rokkan, A. Rose, A. K. Saran, A. Sauvy, N. G. Smelser, F. K. Sutton, R. Treves, G. Westerlund, M. P. Chombart de Lauwe, L. Goldmann, R. Lukic, C. W. Mills, O. Stammer, R. Weitz.

Further details may be obtained from Professor Pierre de Bie, Secretary General of the International Sociological Association, 116 Rue des Flamands, Louvain, Belgium, or from the Executive Office of the American Sociological Association, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE 56TH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION HELD AT THE CHASE-PARK PLAZA HOTEL, ST. LOUIS, AUGUST 29, 30, 31, AND SEPTEMBER 1 AND 2, 1961

First St. Louis Meeting of the 1961 Council August 29, 1961

The first meeting of the 1961 Council was called to order at 10:00 a.m. on August 29, 1961 by President Robert E. L. Faris. The following members of the 1961 Council were present: Harry Alpert, John Clausen, Walter Firey, William Goode, George Homans, Rex

Hopper, William Kolb, Paul Lazarsfeld, Charles Loomis, Walter Martin, Wilbert Moore, Talcott Parsons, John Riley, Irwin Sanders, William Sewell, Melvin Tumin, Ralph Turner, Rupert B. Vance, Frank R. Westie, Robin Williams, and Robert Bierstedt, Janice Hopper *ex officio*. From the 1962 Council: Leonard Broom, Everett Hughes, Alex Inkeles, Henry Shryock.

In addition the following committee chairmen and representatives were present: Robert Bower, Joseph Eaton, Alvin Gouldner, Edward McDonagh, Harold Pfautz.

1. The Chair called upon Co-Chairman Alvin Gouldner of the Conference Committee to report to Council regarding a restriction upon the use, by Association members, of a hotel facility, the swimming pool. Following his report the Council voted to appoint a committee, consisting of Robert Faris, President, Talcott Parsons, Secretary, Robert Bierstedt, Executive Officer, John Riley, and Alvin Gouldner to negotiate a resolution of the situation with the hotel management. The Committee was empowered by the Council to inform the hotel management that the Association would withdraw immediately from the hotel if contractual agreements were not fully observed. Arrangements for a meeting with the Chase-Park Plaza management were made immediately. At a special meeting convened at 11:00 p.m. to hear the report of the Committee, the Council voted to accept as satisfactory the action of the hotel in removing all restrictions. The Council voted that the Resolutions Committee be instructed to convey appreciation to the Mayor's Committee for their assistance and support.

2. A Committee on Resolutions for the 1961 meetings was appointed consisting of Rupert Vance, Chairman; William Kolb; Irwin Sanders.

3. Regarding the site for the 1963 meetings, the Council reaffirmed the earlier decision to meet on the West Coast and authorized the Executive Office and the Conference Committee Co-Chairmen, Ralph Turner and Edward McDonagh, to make contractual arrangements with the Hotel Statler-Hilton in Los Angeles. Action on a proposed post-conference session in Hawaii was deferred to the first meeting of the 1962 Council.

4. The Council authorized the Executive Office to proceed with arrangements for a 1964 meeting in Montreal.

5. The Council accepted the various reports from Officers, Committee Chairmen, and Representatives, as preprinted for the December, 1961 *Review*, and took action as follows:

- (a) the recommendation of the Editor of the *Review* that approximately 120 additional pages be authorized for 1962 to permit publication of the present backlog of accepted manuscripts was referred to the Budget Committee and the Executive Committee for high priority consideration.
- (b) the recommendation of the Editor of the *Review* for an increase in the number of Associate Editors was discussed and the election of five additional Associate Editors was authorized;
- (c) the action of the Executive Committee at its New York meeting of March 4, 1961 approving the recommendation of the Editor of the *Review* for the creation of the position of Editor-Elect was reaffirmed;
- (d) the Council approved the recommendation of the Committee on Translating and Ab-

stracting Scientific Publications in Foreign Languages. The recommendation was that the Association take the initiative in establishing programs of abstracting and translating foreign language sociological material. The Committee was requested to prepare a request for a grant from the National Science Foundation to meet the cost of one year of preliminary work in this area;

- (e) the recommendation of the Executive Committee regarding representation of regional societies was considered. It was voted to submit to the membership appropriate constitutional and by-law amendments providing for the election of several members to the Council on a regional basis. It is understood that if these are adopted, representatives of regional societies will no longer sit in the Council;
- (f) the Council voted to defer for action by the Executive Committee the recommendation of the Committee on Organization and Plans for constitutional and by-law amendments affecting the representation of subject matter affiliates (i.e. Rural Sociological Society and Society for the Study of Social Problems). The Executive Committee was authorized to appoint one or more liaison committees to meet with similar committees of these affiliates.

Further discussion of the reports of officers, committee chairmen, and representatives was postponed to the third meeting of the 1961 Council.

6. The Council took cognizance of a report from the counsel of the Association advising that subsidized efforts to influence legislation might jeopardize the tax exempt status of the Association.

7. On the recommendation of the Sub-committee on Sections of the Committee on Organization and Plans, the Council voted:

- (a) to recommend to Sections that their by-laws provide that Section officers be voting members of the Association;
- (b) to recommend to those Sections (Social Psychology, Methodology, and Criminology) that now limit membership to voting members of the Association that criteria of membership be set in independence of the categories of Association membership.

8. The Council enthusiastically and thankfully accepted John Riley's willingness to represent the Association in Washington, D.C.

9. The Council voted to lay the Ohio Valley Sociological Society resolutions of April 22, 1961 on the table.

10. The Council voted to reconvene in emergency session at 11:00 p.m. to hear the report of the special committee on negotiations with the hotel management.

The meeting was declared adjourned at 5:10 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, Secretary

*Second St. Louis Meeting of the 1961 Council
August 29, 1961*

The second, emergency meeting of the 1961 Council was called to order at 11:00 p.m. on August 29, 1961 by President Robert E. L. Faris. The following members of the 1961 Council were present: Harry Alpert, John Clausen, Walter Firey, William Goode, George Homans, Rex Hopper, William Kolb, Paul Lazarsfeld, Charles Loomis, Walter T. Martin, Wilbert Moore, Talcott Parsons, John Riley, Irwin Sanders, Ralph Turner, Robin Williams, and Robert Bierstedt and Janice Hopper, *ex officio*. From the 1962 Council: Leonard Broom, Everett Hughes, Alex Inkeles, Henry Shryock. Also present: Nicholas Demerath.

1. The Council having heard the report of the President, voted to accept as satisfactory the Hotel's action in removing all restrictions upon the use of its facilities by the membership.

2. The Resolutions Committee was instructed to convey the appreciation of the American Sociological Association to the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations.

3. The Council expressed its appreciation to the Negotiating Committee for its effective action.

The meeting adjourned at 11:25 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, *Secretary*

*Third St. Louis Meeting of the 1961 Council
August 31, 1961*

The third meeting of the 1961 Council was called to order at 4:30 p.m. on August 31, 1961 by President Robert E. L. Faris. The following members of the 1961 Council were present: Harry Alpert, John Clausen, Walter Firey, William Goode, George Homans, Rex Hopper, William Kolb, Paul Lazarsfeld, Charles Loomis, Wilbert Moore, Talcott Parsons, John Riley, Irwin Sanders, Harold Saunders, William Sewell, Melvin Tumin, Ralph Turner, Rupert Vance, Frank Westie, Robin Williams, and Robert Bierstedt and Janice Hopper, *ex officio*. From the 1962 Council: Leonard Broom, Everett Hughes, Alex Inkeles, Alfred McClung Lee, and Charles Page. In addition the following were present: Section Chairmen Odin Anderson, Daniel Price; Committee Chairman Robert Angell; and Ward Mason.

1. The published report of the Chairman of the Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Grant was considered and the recommendation that the Committee be discharged at this time was accepted. The Council expressed its appreciation of the work of the outgoing Committee. On the

recommendation of the Chairman of the Committee on Organization and Plans the appointment of a new committee was authorized.

2. The resignation of the Chairman of the Committee to Administer the Asia Foundation Grant was accepted with regret, and with gratitude for his service.

3. Ralph Turner, Chairman of the Section on Social Psychology, presented the following resolution passed by voice vote of the Section at its business meeting on August 30, 1961:

Be it resolved that:

- Consonant with the procedures and understandings worked out in the program planning for the 1961 ASA meeting,
- a request be put by the members of the Social Psychology Section to the Council of the American Sociological Association which would seek to ensure that
- a reasonable opportunity be provided the duly appointed representatives of the Social Psychology Section to participate in the planning and programming of sessions and sections in the field of social psychology to be held at the 1962 annual meetings of the ASA.

The Council endorsed the resolution and referred it to the 1962 Program Committee.

4. Daniel Price, Chairman of the Section on Methodology, informed the Council that the Section business meeting of August 30, 1961 had passed a similar resolution, and that he concurred in the disposition of the resolution presented by the Section on Social Psychology.

5. The Secretary reported to the Council on developments in connection with the dates for the ASA and ISA 1962 meetings which will be held in Washington, D.C. at the Shoreham Hotel, August 29–September 2, 1962. The question of a reciprocal registration fee was referred to the Executive Committee and the Budget Committee with power to act.

6. The Council authorized the Chairman of the MacIver Award Committee to report the name of the recipient of the award directly to the President.

7. Following a report by Irwin Sanders on the New York State certification situation, the Executive Office was instructed to obtain a legal opinion on the New York State law.

8. The Council considered a proposal from Ner Littner, M.D., Chairman of the Committee on Psychiatry and Social Work of the American Psychiatric Association for the establishment of direct lines of communication between his Committee and specific representatives appointed by the American Sociological Association as a professional group whose interests at some point coincide with the interests of the American Psychiatric Association. The Secretary was authorized to inform Dr. Littner and the Council of the American Psychiatric Association that the American Sociological Association is hospitable to the suggestion, but would prefer direct liaison through the Council of the American Psychiatric Association.

9. A request for the establishment of a liaison committee to consider the content of the college introductory course in sociology was referred to the Executive Committee for action.

10. The following resolution of the Executive Committee of the Society for the Study of Social Problems was read to the Council:

Be it resolved that:

—the Executive Committee of the Society for the Study of Social Problems extends its appreciation to the Council of the American Sociological Association for the vigorous position it has taken in opposition to the Chase Hotel's discriminatory swimming pool policy.

11. A proposal for the reduction of membership dues for Emeriti who do not meet eligibility requirements for Emeritus status in the Association was referred to the Executive Committee for action.

12. The representative for the Society for the Study of Social Problems communicated to the Council the action of that body in suggesting the formation of an impartial group to analyze the content of Shuey's volume on *Testing Negro Intelligence*.

13. The President thanked Ward Mason for his appearance in the Council, noting with regret that time did not permit his presentation of a report on the survey of sociologists in the federal government.

The meeting adjourned at 5:30 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, *Secretary*

*Meeting of the 1962 Council
September 1, 1961*

The first meeting of the 1962 Council was called to order by President Paul Lazarsfeld. The following members were present: Harry Alpert, Leonard Broom, John Clausen, Robert Faris, Walter Firey, William Goode, Everett Hughes, Alex Inkeles, William Kolb, Alfred McClung Lee, Charles Loomis, Walter T. Martin, Wilbert Moore, Charles Page, Talcott Parsons, Harold Saunders, William Sewell, Ralph Turner, Rupert B. Vance; Robert Bierstedt and Janice Hopper, *ex officio*. Henry Riecken of the National Science Foundation was also present.

1. The Council accepted with great regret the resignation of the Executive Officer, Robert Bierstedt, and recommended to the Resolutions Committee an expression of appreciation of his service.

2. The Council elected Robert O. Carlson Executive Officer.

3. Acting on the recommendation of President Lazarsfeld, the Council authorized an analysis of the operation of the Association office and a report to the Executive Committee and the Council.

4. The Council voted to request the Chairman of the Committee on International Cooperation to think through the task of organizing a Registry of Sociologists who have specialized knowledge of foreign countries and to prepare a proposal for the Executive Committee.

5. Nominations for Council elections to membership in Association Committees were proposed by John Clausen, Chairman of the Committee on Committees. The following persons were elected to the posts indicated:

Executive Committee: Reuben Hill, Alex Inkeles.

Associate Editors of the Review: (In view of the addition of five new Associate Editors as authorized by the 1961 Council, the Editor was empowered to determine which of the new Editors will serve one, two, or three years.) Hubert Blalock, Jr., Ely Chinoy, Robert Gutman, Roscoe Hinkle, Lewis Killian, Harold Pfautz, Arnold Rose, Hanan Selvin, Frank R. Westie, and Harold Wilensky.

Associate Editors of Sociometry: Alex Inkeles, Melvin Kohn, Melvin Seeman, Eugene Weinstein.

Committee on Budget and Investment: Robert Faris, Chairman.

Committee on Classification: Vincent Whitney.

1963 Program Committee: Lewis Coser, John Useem.

Committee on Training and Professional Standards: Kingsley Davis, Chairman; Robert Merton. *Representative to the American Public Health Association Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health:* Leo Reeder.

Representative to the American Council of Learned Societies: Robert Bierstedt.

Director, Social Science Research Council: Guy E. Swanson. (Elected from the panel submitted by the Social Science Research Council.)

Representative to the American Association for the Advancement of Science: James Coleman.

6. The Council approves the President's appointments to the following *ad hoc* committees:

Selection Committee on the MacLuer Award: Robin Williams, Chairman.

Committee on Social Statistics: Abram Jaffe, Chairman; Theodore Anderson, Gerhard Lenski, Nathan Keyfitz, Leslie Kish, Leo Schnore, Frederick Stephan.

Committee on International Cooperation: Rex Hopper, Chairman; Daniel Bell, Reinhard Bendix, Morroe Berger, Nicholas Demerath, Alex Inkeles, Otto Larsen, Seymour Lipset, Bryce Ryan, Irwin Sanders, Alvin Scaff, Francis Sutton, Joseph Stycos, Melvin Tumin, and Ruth Hill Useem.

Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics: Horace Hamilton, Chairman; Hugh Carter, Harold Christensen, Floyd Martinson, Raymond Mangus, and Ivan Nye. (The Chairman was authorized to appoint additional members.)

7. The Council authorized President Lazarsfeld to appoint the following *ad hoc* committees:

- (a) A committee to study high school social studies curricula and the content of introductory courses in sociology at the college and university level.
- (b) A committee chaired by Amos Hawley to study means of discovering talented students.
- (c) A liaison committee to meet with a committee appointed by the Rural Sociological Society to discuss possible transfer of the journal, *Rural Sociology*, to sponsorship by the ASA and to explore the future organizational relationship between the two Associations. This committee will report to the Council or the Executive Committee. The suggestions for the liaison committee are: Talcott Parsons, Secretary and Chairman of the Committee on Publications; William Sewell, Vice-President and also a member of the Rural Sociological Society; and Donald Young or Wilbert Moore, representing the American Sociological Association's Committee on Organization and Plans.
- (d) A liaison committee to meet with a committee to be appointed by the Society for the Study of Social Problems to explore the future organizational relationship between the two societies.

8. *Asia Foundation Committee*: Bryce Ryan, Chairman; Wolfgang Eberhard, and Marion Levy.

9. *Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Award*: August Hollingshead, Chairman; Irwin Sanders, and Milton Yinger.

10. William Kolb presented the following report of the August 31, 1961 meeting of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards:

1. The Committee agreed last year to remain quiescent (i.e. to do nothing) until such time as Elbridge Sibley's research on graduate training in sociology is completed. During the past year the Committee has lived up to the letter of that agreement.
2. At this year's meeting Elbridge Sibley presented preliminary findings to the Committee. Sibley indicated that he expected that his study would be substantially complete by the time of the 1962 meetings. Sibley will keep the Committee informed on his findings as they develop, and will present a more complete report at the 1962 meetings. The Committee hopes to be able to develop proposals, if such are indicated, based on its study of Sibley's findings after next year's meetings.

11. The Council approved the 1962 ASA-ISA Conference Committee as follows:

Samuel Baum, Calvin Beale, Robert T. Bower, Gladys K. Bowles, Jerry W. Combs, Jr., G. Franklin Edwards, William Caudill, Calvert L. Dedrick, Rt. Rev. Msgr. Paul H. Furfey, Paul C. Glick, Charles E. Hutchinson, Nora Lejins, Peter P. Lejins, Father Daniel Lowery, Paul F. Myers, Stuart Rice, Henry Riecken, Eva Ross,

Frederick Seymour, Annie Frances Shryock, Richard W. Stevens, Carl C. Taylor, Austin van der Slice, and John M. Wilson.

The Council adjourned at 6:25 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, *Secretary*

Minutes of the Business Meetings of the Association

The first St. Louis Business Meeting was called to order September 1, 1961 at 11:00 a.m., by President Robert E. L. Faris.

1. The President announced that the Association had received greetings from a number of distinguished persons. These messages will be read at the start of the Presidential session, September 1, 1961 at 8:00 p.m.

2. The minutes of the St. Louis meetings of the 1961 Council on August 29 were read by the Secretary.

3. Co-Chairman Clement Mihanovich of the Conference Committee reported registration as of the morning of September 1 to be 1018.

4. The membership of the 1962 Committee on Nominations and Elections was announced as follows:

Robert E. L. Faris, Chairman

Alan Bates

Peter Blau

Robert Dubin

Burton Fisher

David Gold

Oswald Hall

Rex Hopper

Patricia Kendall

Lewis Killian

Robert McGinnis

Robert Merton

Gideon Sjoberg

Dorothy S. Thomas

Harold Wilensky

5. The membership of the 1961 Committee on Resolutions was announced: Rupert B. Vance, Chairman; William Kolb, and Irwin Sanders.

6. The Secretary briefly summarized the background of the proposed amendments to the Constitution and By-Laws. The following proposed amendments were then read by the Secretary and laid on the table in accordance with the By-Law Amendment, Article VIII, Section 1:

- (a) Each regional society shall nominate as candidates for three-year terms on the Council two of its members who shall be Fellows of the American Sociological Association;
- (b) the names of the nominees of the regional societies shall appear on the ballot of the national Association and the voting members of the Association shall be instructed to vote for one of the two from their region and for no other.

7. In illustration of Association policy, the Secretary outlined briefly the nature of contractual arrangements recently entered into with one of the American publishers.

8. Wilbert Moore, Chairman of the Committee on Organization and Plans Sub-committee on Sections, discussed Section membership, structure and some problems.

9. Robert Bierstedt, Executive Officer, reported to the membership on the financial prospects of the Association, some present and future needs and their implications.

10. President Faris announced new business would be in order at the second St. Louis Business Meeting.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS, *Secretary*

The second St. Louis Business Meeting was called to order September 2, 1961, at 11:00 a.m., by President Robert E. L. Faris.

1. The Minutes of the first Business Meeting were read by the Executive Officer in the absence of the Secretary.

2. The Minutes of the St. Louis meeting of the 1962 Council were read by the Executive Officer for the information of the membership, prior to final revision and approval by the incoming Council.

3. The following resolutions as proposed by the Resolutions Committee were accepted:

- (a) Whereas the Conference Committee has done more than could be expected of it in arranging for the comfort and convenience of our members and whereas it rose to the occasion beyond the call of ordinary duty, be it resolved that the American Sociological Association express its thanks to these devoted members, especially to the Co-Chairmen, Alvin W. Gouldner and Clement S. Mihanovich, and to the administrations of St. Louis University and of Washington University for their offers of sympathy and support.
- (b) Whereas the Mayor's Committee on Human Relations proved of a special aid in the negotiations, be it resolved that the Association tender its respect and thanks for the function the Committee regularly performs.
- (c) The Association recognizes the difficulties of policy changes in the race-relations area. Therefore, it especially appreciates the constructive change instituted by the Hotel's management in regard to the swimming pool. And the Association hopes that other luxury hotels in the United States will follow the leadership and example of the Chase-Park Plaza, thereby avoiding embarrassment and conflict in the use of their accommodations.
- (d) Whereas, in the resignation of its Executive Officer, the Association is losing the services

of an able executive and a devoted public servant, be it resolved that we express to Robert Bierstedt our appreciation of his work for the Association.

- (e) Finally, be it resolved that the Association express its respects and high regard for its devoted officers, its capable administration, and the talented committee in charge of the program.

4. Ward Mason reported on the "Survey of Sociologists in the Federal Government."

5. It was announced that registration had reached 1037.

The Chair called for new business. There being none, the meeting was adjourned at 11:40.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT BIERSTEDT, *Executive Officer*,
for TALCOTT PARSONS, *Secretary*

Report of the Secretary

I. INTERIM ACTIONS TAKEN BY THE MEMBERSHIP, THE COUNCIL, AND THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1960-61

The Council approved by mail ballot the minutes of its New York meetings, and these were published in the December, 1960 *Review*.

Editorship of the American Sociological Review

Cognizance was taken of the current Editor's intent to resign, under pressure of his administrative duties, upon completion of two years of his term. The Committee on Publications was authorized to initiate the process of selecting a new editor to take office after the 1962 meetings. To ease the transition, the Committee was directed to attempt completion of its task by September 1961.

Editorship of Sociometry

Ralph H. Turner was elected Editor of *Sociometry* by vote of the Council and the Committee on Publications. He will take office in 1962.

Fiscal

The Executive Committee recommended that the Budget Committee give special consideration to the needs of the Committee on State Legislation and Certification, within the limits of meeting the ordinary requirements of the Association, in working out the budget for the fiscal year 1961. It was further voted that this recommendation be placed on the agenda of the St. Louis Council meeting for review.

At the suggestion of the Committee on Publications, the Executive Committee recom-

mended that the Budget Committee consider enlarging the *Review* budget for 1961 to facilitate publication of the backlog of accepted articles inherited by the present Editor.

On the recommendation of the Budget Committee the 1961 budget was approved by the Council. It was published in the August *Review*.

Grants

The Asia Foundation has renewed its grant of 2,500 dollars to foster closer relations between Asian and American sociologists.

The Association has received a grant of 25,000 dollars from the National Science Foundation for the support of the Fifth World Congress of Sociology which will meet in Washington, D.C. at the Shoreham Hotel, September 2-8, 1962.

A grant of 50,000 dollars has been received from the American Council of Learned Societies in support of the 1962 Fifth World Congress of Sociology.

The Association has agreed by vote of the Executive Committee to administer a National Science Foundation Grant of 27,600 dollars to *Sociological Abstracts* for enlargement of its editorial offices during the fiscal year 1961-1962.

The Executive Committee took the following actions:

American Organizing Committee for the ISA 1962 Washington, D.C. meetings—Formal authorization was granted to Robert Bierstedt and Janice Hopper, Executive and Administrative Officers respectively, to use the designated grants to open, maintain, and draw upon for the Committee a Chase Manhattan account for the International Sociological Association's Fifth World Congress to be held in 1962. A letterhead design for the Committee was approved.

Budget Committee—The resignation of Irwin Sanders from the Budget Committee was accepted with regret and Robin Williams was elected as his replacement.

Classification Committee—Regretfully accepting the resignation of Elbridge Sibley, Chairman, the Executive Committee elected Rex D. Hopper as third member and Chairman.

1961 Conference Committee—The slate as prepared by Alvin Gouldner and Clement Mihanovich was approved, and the Co-Chairmen were authorized to make additions and changes as needed.

Committee on Legislation and Certification—Change of name to "Committee on State Legislation and Certification" was approved.

The Executive Committee also instructed the Executive Office to obtain a legal opinion on the possible effect of the use of services of a professional lobbyist in any given state situation upon the tax exempt status of the Association. Following the recommendation of the Committee, Wilbert Moore was invited to explore with the Social Science Research Council the possibility of SSRC research on problems of interdisciplinary relations, especially of the ramifications of certification laws for the recruitment of civil servants, consultants, and academicians in general.

Committee on Organization and Plans—Drafting of amendments to the Constitution and By-laws changing the effective cut-off date for non-payment of dues and the effective termination of privileges of membership was authorized as recommended.

Committee on Professional Ethics—The Executive Committee approved plans for the development of a code of ethics and authorized the President to communicate its decision to Robert Angell, Chairman of the Committee on Professional Ethics.

Committee on Publications—The Committee on Publications and the Executive Office were authorized to accept the Chandler proposal for one or more paperback readers on which a royalty of 15 per cent of the cash return is to be paid the Association provided detailed contractual terms can be worked out to mutual satisfaction. Continuation of negotiations with Bobbs-Merrill also was authorized. A contract with Bobbs-Merrill for a looseleaf notebook series has been approved and signed.

Publications

Index to the Review—The Executive Committee voted to establish new rates recommended by the Committee on Publication for the *Index* as follows:

Three dollars to members, four dollars and seventy-five cents to libraries.

Charges for reprint permissions, Review and Sociometry—It was further voted to accept the recommendation of the Committee for an increase in rates for reprint rights as follows:

From a ten dollar minimum or two dollars per page, whichever is higher, to a twenty dollar minimum or four dollars per page, whichever is higher.

Review charges for advertising—A per page rate increase of twenty dollars was approved. The new rate is one hundred dollars per page.

News and Announcements—It was voted to continue publication of News and Announcements in the Review, but to have the editorial operation handled in the Executive Office.

Bulletins of Fields of Application—The following new bulletins were approved:

Sociology and the Field of Business Management, to be prepared by Robert O. Carlson with an Advisory Committee of Raymond A. Bauer, Delbert C. Miller, Douglas McGregor, Wilbert Moore, and Herbert Shepard;

Sociology and the Field of Medicine, to be prepared by Edmund H. Volkart, with an Advisory Committee of Samuel W. Bloom, John A. Clausen, Eliot Freidson, Everett C. Hughes, George G. Reader.

The American Sociologist—Following discussion of the recommendations of the Committee on Publications concerning *The American Sociologist* the Executive Committee went on record as being of the opinion that in view of the budgetary pressures on the Association occasioned by the increasing costs of *The American Sociological Review* it is not feasible to consider publication of *The American Sociologist* at this time. It was recommended that the question be reopened one or two years hence.

Changes in Council Representation of Regional and Affiliated Societies

1. Regional Societies—After extended discussion of recommendations made by the Committee on Organization and Plans, the Executive Committee instructed President Robert Faris and Secretary Talcott Parsons to draw up for presentation to the 1961 Council at the St. Louis meetings a proposal to amend the Constitution and the By-Laws to provide:

that each regional society shall nominate as candidates for the Council two of its members who shall be Fellows of the American Sociological Association for the customary three-year term;

that the names of the nominees of the regional societies shall appear on the ballot of the national Association and the voting members of the Association shall be instructed to vote for one of the two from their region and for no other;

that given the three year terms, there be provided in this amendment some mechanism for staggering the candidacies for regional representation, i.e., the ballot would require voting for regional repre-

sentatives from each of the regions every third year.

2. Affiliates—The Executive Committee discussed Council representation of the affiliated societies at considerable length. It was agreed that in view of the fact that the Association now has Sections to take care of the organization of special subject matters, and that the Sections are not represented on the Council, it seems inappropriate to continue representation of the subject matter affiliated societies on the Council. The drafting of the Constitutional and By-Law amendments necessary to carry this recommendation into effect was authorized. These amendments are to be on the agenda of the St. Louis Council meetings.

Sections of the Association—The Executive Office was authorized to advise Theodore Lenn on the next step in the process of obtaining Section status for the group interested in the formation of a Section on Marriage and the Family; it was noted that the question of this new Section as well as of a possible Section on Axioms and Postulates which was tabled last year, are proper matters for the consideration of the sub-committee of the Committee on Organization and Plans which was authorized by action of the Executive Committee. The following recommendations of the Committee were adopted:

- a. that a sub-committee of the Committee on Organization and Plans be appointed to study the concepts and principles of Section organization and to develop a typology of possibilities to be discussed by the general membership at the business meeting in St. Louis;
- b. that this *ad hoc* committee include the Chairman-Elect or his designated representative for each Section and a representative of any Section or Sections in the process of formation, said representative to be appointed by the President;
- c. that prior to the St. Louis meetings the members of the sub-committee, who are members of the Committee on Organization and Plans hold a preliminary meeting.

Study of American Sociological Association Elections—The Executive Committee went on record as looking with favor upon the proposal made by Paul F. Lazarsfeld for a three or four year study of American Sociological Association elections.

II. ELECTIONS

The Committee on Nominations and Elections for 1961 reported the results of the ballot-

ing and it is hereby incorporated in the record as follows:

President-Elect:	Everett C. Hughes
Vice-President-Elect:	Leonard Broom
Committee on Publications:	Charles H. Page
Council:	Theodore Caplow
	Philip Hauser
	Rudolf Heberle
	Alex Inkeles

III. MEMORIAL RECORD

The deaths of the following members have been reported since the adjournment of the New York City Meeting in 1960.

Ray E. Baber	William L. Leap
Chester I. Barnard	William Q. McKnight
Harrington C. Brearley	Philip H. Mitchell
Francis J. Brown	Cecil Clare North
P. C. Chun	Iva Lowther Peters
Charles N. Elliott	Walter W. Pettit
Morris M. Feuerlicht	Edward Saylor
J. Eugene Gallery	Milton J. Schlagenhauf
S. D. Gershovitz	David M. Shaw
Lawrence M. Hepple	Ernest V. Sigafos
Harold E. Jones	Samuel A. Stouffer
Clyde Kluckhohn	Ervile B. Woods
Robert I. Kutak	Howard B. Woolston
Dorothea Lantos	Donald E. Wray

IV. SPECIAL SERVICES

To the following members who have performed valuable services in a wide range of representative roles during the year, the thanks of the Association have been expressed:

- Robert Bierstedt—Inauguration of John Rutherford Everett as Chancellor of The City University of New York.
- Robert T. Bower—Inauguration of Thomas Henry Carroll as President of the George Washington University
- Ernest W. Burgess—Inauguration of George Wells Beadle as Chancellor of the University of Chicago
- John H. Burma—Inauguration of Arend Don-selaar Lubbers as President of Central College, Iowa
- Marshall B. Clinard—Fourth International Congress of Criminology at the Hague
- Walter Coutu—National Conference on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, Pennsylvania State University
- Benjamin J. Darsky—University of Michigan's 14th Annual Conference on Aging, Ann Arbor, Michigan
- Joseph W. Eaton—National Association of Social Workers Delegate Assembly, Chicago, Illinois
- K. R. Eissler—50th Anniversary of the New York Psychoanalytic Society, New York City

- Eliot Freidson—Public Affairs Committee Conference, New York City
- Oswald Hall—Inauguration of Murray George Ross as President of York University, Canada
- Shelby M. Harrison—Memorial Service for Dean Emeritus Walter W. Pettit, New York City
- Rex D. Hopper—Inauguration of John Meng as President of Hunter College, New York City
- Clarence R. Jeffery—Inauguration of G. Homer Durham as President of Arizona State University, Arizona
- Harold F. Kaufman—Inauguration of Wallace Colvard as President of Mississippi State University, State College, Mississippi
- Bernard Kutner—3rd Annual Conference of National Organizations Concerned with Services to Older People, New York City
- Bernard Kutner—White House Conference on Aging, Washington, D.C.
- Forrest E. LaViolette—Inauguration of Herbert Eugene Longenecker as President of Tulane University, Louisiana
- Genevieve Ellis Mahan—Inauguration of Everett Lewis Cattell as President of Malone College
- Elio D. Monachesi—Inauguration of Owen Meredith Wilson as President of the University of Minnesota
- Bernard J. Oliver, Jr.—Centennial Convocation at Chapman College, Orange, California
- Talcott Parsons—Centennial Convocation of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Mass.
- Maurice T. Price—National Conference on Citizenship, Washington, D.C.
- Maurice T. Price—White House Conference on Aging, Washington, D.C.
- Ira L. Reiss—Inauguration of the Reverend Reamer Kline as 13th President of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York
- Seth Russell—Inauguration of John Albert Fisher as President of Jamestown College, North Dakota
- Clarence Schrag—6th International Congress of Social Defense, Yugoslavia
- Lyda G. Shivers—Inauguration of Samuel De-witt Proctor as President of the Agricultural and Technological College of North Carolina
- Vernon A. Snowbarger—Inauguration of Garland A. Godfrey as 16th President of Central State College, Oklahoma
- Gordon F. Streib—White House Conference on Aging, Washington, D.C.
- Gordon F. Streib—Conference on "Leisure, A World Opportunity," sponsored by the International Recreation Association, New York City
- Burton W. Taylor—Inauguration of Kenneth T. H. Brooks as President of the Gorham State Teachers College, Maine
- Burton W. Taylor—Inauguration of Robert E. L. Strider, II, as the 17th President of Colby College, Waterville, Maine
- Richard G. Thurston—Inauguration of Arlo Leonard Shilling as 7th President of North Central College, Naperville, Illinois

TABLE A. GROWTH OF THE ASSOCIATION

	Some Selected Trend Figures												(est.)
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961
<i>Indicators of Growth</i>													
Number of members	No. 2,673	No. 3,582	No. 4,126	No. 4,307	No. 4,352	No. 4,376	No. 4,590	No. 4,958	No. 5,195	No. 5,783	No. 6,436	No. 6,949	No. 7,162
Non-member subscribers to <i>Review</i>	1,352	1,416	1,502	1,625	1,799	1,901	2,053	2,025	2,096	2,199	2,339	2,583	2,700
Number of copies of <i>Review</i> printed (per issue)	4,400	5,100	6,000	6,300	6,500	6,700	7,100	7,300	7,800	8,300	9,100	10,000	10,733
Number of <i>Sociometry</i> subscribers ¹													
Number of other journal orders transmitted				408*	1,609	1,351	1,853	1,719	2,163	2,461	2,843	3,906	4,000
<i>Indicators of Rising Income</i>													
Total income	\$ 22,556	\$ 40,661	\$ 47,779	\$ 43,918	\$ 53,627	\$ 55,892	\$ 61,355	\$ 82,738 ¹	\$ 90,847	\$ 100,503	\$ 145,406	\$ 159,792	\$ 168,339
Special funds ²	—	6,000	4,250	1,000	—	750	1,200	800	829	3,309	7,974	4,000	11,839
Dues income	12,525	21,167*	25,749	26,253	33,495*	35,664	37,063	38,249	40,604	45,956	73,865*	78,550	80,976
Subscription income from <i>Review</i>	5,143	6,130*	7,169	7,716	9,417*	9,967	10,132	11,838*	15,601*	15,224	18,435	18,408	19,976
Advertising income from <i>Review</i>	3,358	4,203*	4,052	3,822	4,345	4,373	4,713	4,171	5,238*	6,221	7,304	7,240	7,700*
Subscription income from <i>Sociometry</i> ³								9,580	8,209	9,545	10,442	10,525	10,630
<i>Indicators of Rising Expenditures</i>													
Cost of printing and mailing <i>Review</i>	14,252	15,098	18,808	21,640*	20,960	23,749*	25,859	26,594	29,933	32,455	37,970	42,539	47,614*
Cost of printing and mailing <i>Sociometry</i> ³								3,935	4,930	5,641	5,893	7,034	7,050*
<i>Balance between Income and Expenditures</i>													
Net income	\$ (-3,124)	\$ 11,551	\$ 22,254	\$ (-137)	\$ 8,772	\$ 8,188	\$ 5,407	\$ 1,841	\$ (-416)	\$ (-3,715)	\$ 3,533	\$ 5,098	\$ 1,189

* Rate increased.

¹ Includes \$6,226 for subscriptions to other journals not previously treated as income.² From Carnegie, Russell Sage, Association reserves, Asia Foundation, National Science Foundation, American Council of Learned Societies, and Social Science Research Council.

* Started in 1956.

⁴ No records for earlier years.

George B. Vold—Inauguration of Owen Meredith Wilson as President of the University of Minnesota

Clara L. van de Wall—Dedication of the new campus of Harpur College, Binghamton, N.Y.

Nathan L. Whetten—Silver Convocation honoring Albert N. Jorgensen as President of the University of Connecticut, Storrs, Conn.

Marvin Wolfgang—6th International Congress of Social Defense, Yugoslavia

Thomas Jackson Woofert—Inauguration of Conwell A. Anderson as President of Judson College, Alabama

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS
Secretary

Report of the Executive and Administrative Officers

In 1960 the Council, having reviewed the expanding program of the Association and the recommendation of the Executive Committee, assigned to the newly-elected Executive Officer the function of maintaining liaison between the Executive Office and the membership and the key committees. Simultaneously, an Administrative Officer was elected to a newly created post charged with the management of internal operations. This is the first report of the two new Officers. Having worked closely together on interlocking developments, we have chosen to issue a combined report.

The Association is in an era of expansion in membership, services, and income. Costs of operation in consequence continue to grow at a steady and sometimes frightening rate. The discussion below and tables A and B suggest persistent trends.

Membership

Membership in 1961 has reached an all time high of over 7,000. Voting privileges are enjoyed by 2,672 members or approximately 40 per cent of the total membership. There are in August, 1961 almost as many "Associates"—persons in related fields who are interested in sociology and sociologists working toward a Ph.D.—as voting members: 2,084 "Associates," 2,672 "Actives" and "Fellows." The remaining 1,906 are "Student members."

Sections

The Association's five sections now have a total of 2,252 members.

TABLE B. SECTION MEMBERSHIP

Section	August 1961 Number of Members
Social Psychology	719
Methodology	315
Medical Sociology	750
Criminology	156
Sociology of Education	312
Total	2,252 *

* This figure includes 438 multiple memberships.

Multiple membership is relatively uncommon; 438 Section members, or approximately 1/5 of all Section members belong to more than one Section. The number of members who belong to three, four, or five Sections is relatively small as can be seen from the following figures:

TABLE C. MULTIPLE SECTION MEMBERSHIP

Members of one Section only:	1258
Members of two Sections:	336
Members of three Sections:	90
Members of four Sections:	8
Members of five Sections:	4

A sixth Section on Marriage and Family is in the process of formation.

Non-Member Subscriptions to the Review

Non-member subscriptions—individual and institutional—to the *Review* have risen by 4 per cent since 1960. (See Table A.) The trend, reflecting increasing interest in the field, is still in the direction of a slow, steady rise.

Subscriptions to Sociometry

Interest in *Sociometry* continues to rise slowly but steadily. In 1961 there are approximately 5 per cent more subscribers, individual and institutional, than were reported for 1960.

Subscriptions to Other Journals

More members are ordering more of the journals available at special rates to the membership, as Table A shows. The Executive Office continued to handle orders during 1961 and, under a directive from Council, is exploring the possibility of revamping the ordering procedure to release staff members for the performance of other services to our increasing membership.

Employment Bulletin

The 1961 Bulletin reflects a larger number of openings available to qualified sociologists and

a greater acceptance of the Bulletin as a means of recruitment.

Income and Expenditures

Rising income from dues, subscriptions, advertising, and special funds is matched by rising expenditures in all areas. Printing rates were raised in January of 1961 and mailing rates in July. Membership and subscriber growth added to the costs of the two journals and the Employment Bulletin. A backlog of acceptable articles for the *Review* creates increasing pressure for additions to the number of pages available, again raising costs. We take pride in the enlargement of the services provided by the Employment Bulletin, and lament the fiscal consequences. The Executive Office is reminded at every turn that inflation is a present fact.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT BIERSTEDT
Executive Officer
JANICE HOPPER
Administrative Officer

Report of the Editor of the *American Sociological Review*

Workload statistics, acknowledgments, and problem areas are covered in this first report of the new Editor.

WORKLOAD STATISTICS

The following are preliminary data for the ten-month period from September, 1960 to June, 1961:

Number of manuscripts received from previous editor	133
Number of new manuscripts received	255
Average number of new manuscripts per month	25.5
Number of publications received for review	682
Number of publications received for review per month	68.2
Number of editorial evaluations of manuscripts	640
Percentage of new manuscripts accepted or conditionally accepted for publication (eight-month period: September, 1960 to April, 1961)	16.1%
Number of issues with thematic emphases	2
February, 1961—Sociology of Health and Medicine	
October, 1961—Delinquency, Crime, and Alienation	

The following information relates to the first three issues of 1961:

Number of articles and research notes published, including two articles in the "The Profession" section	35
Number of articles and research notes per issue	11.6
Number of book reviews and book notes published	247
Number of book reviews and book notes per issue	82.3

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Editor is pleased to record officially his appreciation and thanks to the following:

Charles H. Page and Betty Vogel for their superb and indispensable indoctrination sessions for the new Editor;

Betty Vogel for her skill and intelligence in managing the transition from Northampton, Massachusetts, to Eugene, Oregon;

Judith Bechtel and Glenda Brown without whose secretarial and office services the *Review* would never have appeared;

Acting President William C. Jones of the University of Oregon for providing very satisfactory office space, facilities, and equipment for the *Review*;

Robert A. Ellis for outstanding services beyond the normal call of duty as Book Review Editor;

Henry Quellmalz for being a most sympathetic, cooperative, and understanding printer;

Members of the Department of Sociology of the University of Oregon for prompt and efficient execution of innumerable chores;

The Associate Editors for their serious dedication to the important responsibility of evaluating manuscripts.

PROBLEMS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The *Review* faces three major problems for which remedial recommendations are submitted for consideration by the Council: (1) backlog, (2) workload of Associate Editors, and (3) Editor succession.

Backlog. Having inherited 133 manuscripts and with new manuscripts arriving at the rate of almost one a day, the present Editor cannot, at this time, guarantee publication of a manuscript in much less than a year after final editorial acceptance. The last of the manuscripts received from the previous editor and accepted for publication will not appear in print until February, 1962. A considerable backlog of outstanding book reviews and book notes was also inherited.

In view of the importance of timeliness in publication of book reviews and notes, it was decided to get them into print at almost double-quick pace. In the first three issues of 1961 we

published 247 reviews and notes in contrast to 159 in the first three issues of 1960. We believe we are fairly well caught up with reviews and notes by now, although some of our colleagues unhappily persist in the unfortunate practice of failing to meet agreed upon deadlines and of ignoring repeated requests to either send a review or return the book for reassignment.

Under present budgetary directives we can publish only some 11 or 12 articles per issue or approximately 6 per month. We should like to recommend to the Council that adequate budgetary provision be made to permit the *Review* to reduce its backlog so that manuscripts can be published within six months after final acceptance. This would require authorization to publish approximately 120 additional pages in 1962.

Workload of Associate Editors. In the past ten months our 15 Associate Editors have prepared over 535 evaluations, or an average of more than 3.6 evaluations per month, or approximately one a week. (An additional 105 critiques were prepared by 22 other readers, including members of the Editorial Staff.) Because of unequal distribution of assignments some Associate Editors have worked on as many as five manuscripts per month. I am greatly impressed with the diligence and care with which manuscripts are read and evaluated by our Associate Editors. This is done at considerable sacrifice, since this chore normally interferes with a characteristically heavy schedule of other duties. It also means undue delay in final editorial decision, especially in cases where conflicting judgments are received from two or more readers. We should like to recommend, therefore, that the number of Associate Editors be increased from 15 to 20, effective September 1, 1961, or as shortly thereafter as feasible.

Editor Succession. There is an inevitable time lag in the processing of manuscripts and publications received. An editor in the last year of his term is forced to make decisions that will affect issues published by his successor. In order to make the transition from one editorial regime to another as smooth as possible, we should like to recommend that the Council establish the position of Editor-Elect. The Editor-Elect would be appointed at the Annual Meeting of the Association in the year preceding the one in which he would take office. This would permit the present editor to discuss major decisions and commitments with his successor. It would also allow the new editor to set up shop as early as July 1 so that he could begin, as promptly as possible, to undertake the processing of manuscripts and book reviews and notes for which he would have final editorial responsibility.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS TO COUNCIL

1. Authorize approximately 120 additional pages per year in the *Review* to permit publication of accepted manuscripts within six months of final acceptance.
2. Increase number of Associate Editors from 15 to 20.
3. Provide for position of Editor-Elect to be appointed at Annual Meeting preceding the year in which the Editor takes office and to provide for the setting up of new editorial offices on July 1 rather than September 1.

Respectfully submitted,
HARRY ALPERT
Editor

Report of the Editor of *Sociometry*

During the past year, *Sociometry* has grown slightly, both in girth (Volume 23 contained 427 pages) and in subscribers (1690). New manuscripts received during the past year numbered 106, while revised manuscripts, of which roughly half had been submitted the previous year, numbered 36. Of the new manuscripts, 22 have been accepted for publication, 48 were rejected, 17 are still in process of review (as of June, 1961) and the remainder represent potentially publishable papers whose authors have been encouraged to undertake revisions.

The review and notification process has been less prompt this year, largely because of the Editor's inability to keep up with the demands of the editing task and those of a new position. Every issue of *Sociometry* has, however, appeared on time, and the editor's backlog will shortly be liquidated.

The present Editor will complete his stewardship of *Sociometry* with the March, 1962 issue. Manuscripts for this issue will be in hand or under revision at the time the incoming Editor begins to receive new manuscripts in October. Thus we have achieved a modest cushion, relieving the Editor's anxiety about slim issues, but not adding greatly to authors' tensions over publications delay. This happy state has been attained without any relaxation of reviewing standards. Few manuscripts are recommended for publication without revision. This is less a comment on the quality of the manuscripts than it is a reflection of the thoughtful critiques by our referees which often help to make a good paper more cogent and more useful.

It is hoped that some progress has been made in furthering the image of *Sociometry* as a journal concerned with significant problems in social psychology. The present Editor had anticipated being more innovative than proved feasible in the light of other commitments. Instead he has

had to be content with trying to encourage and select the manuscripts which in his opinion best represented current social psychological research. The assignment of manuscripts has itself called for study. The state of our field requires that the associate editors and editorial consultants possess different interests, skills and biases. Inevitably they also apply different standards to the review process. The proportion of manuscripts initially rated "publishable" by individual referees has ranged from under 15 per cent to over 50 per cent. Fortunately, the referees' critiques and comments have often helped to resolve the dilemmas of conflicting ratings, but in the last analysis the decision has had to be the Editor's, with or without additional consultation. If this task was sometimes irksome, it was also rewarding; the Editor has learned much from *Sociometry's* authors and its editorial board.

Other satisfactions have derived from the smooth and pleasant course of relationships with the Boyd Printing Company and with the Executive Office. *Sociometry* must at times be a devilishly tricky job for a printer. But Henry Quellmalz and his staff at Boyd have never failed to devise a method for setting even the most complex pattern of symbols with subscripts and superscripts. They have been patient and they have been accurate. And in New York we have had support and assistance from Janice Hopper and Grace Hooper in a variety of forms. It is a pleasure to acknowledge these debts, and to welcome the Editor-Elect, Ralph Turner, to whom I shall shortly owe the greatest debt of all.

Respectively submitted,
JOHN A. CLAUSEN
Editor

Report on Bulletin Series on the Applications of Sociology

Your Editor regrets to report that no new bulletins have been published since the last report. The figures below show the extent to which demand for the four bulletins already published has continued.

Bulletins	Date Published	Copies Sold 1960-61	Total Sales
<i>Sociology and the Field of Corrections</i> by Lloyd E. Ohlin	1/26/56	259	4,162
<i>Sociology and the Field of Mental Health</i> by John A. Clausen	4/9/56	228	4,231
<i>Sociology and the Field of Education</i> by Orville G. Brim, Jr.	7/15/58	704	3,379
<i>Sociology and the Military Establishment</i> by Morris Janowitz	4/1/59	1,383	3,135

The present status of those bulletins now in process is indicated below.

Sociology and the Field of Public Health by Edward A. Suchman. A first draft was completed during the past winter and reviewed by the Advisory Committee. Suchman is now well along in the preparation of a revised draft.

Sociology and the Field of Industrial Relations by Henry A. Landsberger. The author reports he expects to complete a first draft by the end of the present summer.

Sociology and the Field of Religion by Samuel W. Blizzard. When Blizzard accepted this assignment it was agreed that he would probably not be able to do much on the bulletin until the winter and spring of 1962. There have been no changes in this projected schedule.

Sociology and the Field of Law by William M. Evan. A first draft of this bulletin is due sometime during the fall of 1961.

Sociology and the Field of Social Work by Henry J. Meyer. The heavy pressures of the work of developing a program in social science and social work has continued to delay the author in the completion of this bulletin. It is presently planned to complete a first draft by the end of the coming academic year.

Sociology and the Practice of Medicine. Albert F. Wessen reported during the past winter that substantial increases in his administrative responsibilities have rendered completion of this bulletin so problematic that he felt we should reassign the work. In accordance with this advice, the Editor requested Edmund H. Volkart of Stanford University to undertake the preparation of the bulletin. It is gratifying to report that he has agreed to accept this responsibility and that the Executive Committee of the Association has approved the arrangement. Work on the bulletin will begin this summer.

Sociology and the Field of Business Management. This spring Robert O. Carlson of the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey agreed to prepare this bulletin and the assignment has been approved by the Executive Committee. Work on the bulletin will begin this fall.

Thus far no author has been found who is willing to undertake the proposed bulletin on

Sociology and the Field of Government Service. Some effort has been made to find an author willing to take a smaller, more manageable segment of what is admittedly an excessively broad subject. No success on this can be reported at the present time.

During the year several suggestions were made by various members of the Association of other possible subjects for bulletins. However, the suggestions were not in fields where there existed an identifiable professional practice. For example, such subjects as Sociology and the Primary Group, Population Planning, Economic Development, Community Development, point to interesting and important areas of research and application. But in none of these fields, and similar fields suggested, was there a recognized practice function to which the science could be related. The nearest to some of these suggestions is the field of what might be called Urban Planning and Development. Consideration is being given this as a possible topic.

If the Association desires to have bulletins prepared in these relatively unstructured fields of interest, it will have to modify its directives under which the present series was originally developed, and explore with the Russell Sage Foundation, or some other suitable source of support, whether or not guide lines can be laid down with sufficient specificity to provide a practical basis of selection of topics.

Respectfully submitted,
LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR.
Editor

Report of the Committee on Publications

The Committee was requested to submit nominations for Editor of *Sociometry*, and the Chairman was instructed by the Council to conduct negotiations with prospective candidates as selected by the Council balloting. It is gratifying to report that Ralph H. Turner of the

University of California at Los Angeles, has accepted the appointment for a three-year term.

The Committee also was requested to submit nominations for Editor of the *Review* to replace Harry Alpert who, under pressure of his administrative duties, will serve only two years of his three-year appointment. Negotiations as authorized are now in process. To ease the transition period, the Committee was instructed to attempt to designate a new editor by the close of the 1961 Meetings.

Respectfully submitted,
TALCOTT PARSONS
Chairman

Report of the Membership Committee

The total membership of the Association reached a new high of 7,396 members as of May 1, 1961, as indicated by the data in Table 1. During the past year there was a net increase of 521 members: 1,133 new members, 219 reinstatements, and 831 losses through death, resignation, or failure to pay dues. The net increase represented a percentage gain of approximately 8 per cent over the previous year. This was a slight decline from last year's 9 per cent increase and a decline in the rate of increase for the second year in a row.

An analysis of the percentage increase for each membership category for the period May 1, 1960 to May 1, 1961 showed that Fellows increased by 9.2 per cent, Active members decreased by 8.2 per cent, Associate members increased by 19.7 per cent, and Student members increased by 3.9 per cent. The rate of increase for Fellows and Active members combined was 2.3 per cent.

The introduction of the "Fellow" status plus the increased activity on the part of the Executive Office in advertising the activities of our Association and inviting interested colleagues in other disciplines has resulted in some interesting trends in the composition of the Association.

TABLE 1. MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

Membership Class	May 1, 1961	May 1, 1960	May 1, 1959	May 1, 1958	May 1, 1957
Active and Fellow	2,761 ¹	2,700	2,692	2,528	2,402
Associate	2,257	1,886	1,521	1,290	1,213
Student	2,378	2,289	2,110	1,857	1,618
Total	7,396	6,875	6,323	5,675	5,233
Net increase over previous year	521	552	648	442	279
Percentage increase over previous year	8%	9%	11%	8%	6%

¹ 1,771 Fellows, 900 Active Members. The Fellow category was introduced in 1959 subsequent to the May 1 tabulations.

In Table 2 are presented data on the percentage composition of the members by membership class for the last five years. While student members have constituted a fairly constant proportion (around one-third), the proportion of voting members (Fellows and Actives) has decreased, while Associate members have increased from 23 to 31 per cent of the total. The total rates of increase for the five-year period for each membership class are as follows: voting members (Fellows and Actives)—14.0 per cent; Associates—86.1 per cent; Students—47.0 per cent. The net increase in total members for the five-year period was 41.3 per cent.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE COMPOSITION OF THE MEMBERSHIP IN THE AMERICAN SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION BY CLASS OF MEMBERSHIP, 1957-1961

Membership Class	Percentage of Total Membership				
	1961	1960	1959	1958	1957
Fellow ¹	23.9	23.6	..	..	..
Active	13.4	15.7	42.6	44.5	45.9
Associate	30.5	27.4	24.0	22.7	23.2
Student	32.2	33.3	33.4	32.8	30.9

¹ The Fellow category was not introduced until 1959, after the tabulations for that year.

The Membership Committee is still in the process of developing a regional system of representatives with the aim of providing a better mechanism for cooperating with the various regional societies, especially at the time of their annual meetings. Needless to say, the Committee appreciates the efforts of the Department Representatives and Department Chairmen who are largely responsible for the recruitment of new members, both actives and students. As Chairman I wish especially to thank Janice Hopper and her staff in the Executive Office for their aid and succor during the past year: they do the work!

Respectfully submitted,
HAROLD W. PFAUTZ
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Training and Professional Standards

At its meeting in New York, August 30, 1960, the Committee agreed that it would remain quiescent until such time as Elbridge Sibley's study of graduate training in sociology is completed, at which time it would take whatever action its study of Sibley's findings might indicate.

Respectfully submitted,
FRANK R. WESTIE
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Research

The 1961 Committee has functioned almost entirely in a stand-by capacity. It has been ready to take up problems and issues posed to it by the Association, on matters where it could usefully act. The recent history and experience of the Committee is instructive for an understanding of why this particular stance has been adopted, and deemed appropriate.

The 1956 Committee, chaired by E. William Noland, served for three years and worked diligently. The first year was spent in the perennial task of thinking through and defining possible functions, with the aid of a representative group of 53 sociologists. Many of the proposed 13 activities were more or less clearly desirable and could be construed as within the Committee's vague terms of reference. Wisely, the Committee decided to concentrate its necessarily limited resources on helping to raise and maintain standards of research, "by devising criteria of quality (which could then be submitted to the Society for its consideration)." Because of its appropriateness for the Committee, and its importance and urgency to sociology, this activity was given highest priority—a priority backed by the preponderance of opinion among the 53 consultants.

In 1957 and 1958, with Theodore Caplow taking the lead in the latter stages, a number of criteria of quality in research reports were isolated and appraised, an evaluation instrument was pretested by the Committee and modified. Preliminary results appeared promising enough so that in 1958 the Chairman in an extensive report proposed to the Council that full-scale development of the evaluation instrument and its application to published research be undertaken. Because such a project would require much more time and effort of highly-trained persons than the Committee could furnish, it was further proposed that foundation support be sought for the work.

As Co-Chairman in 1959 and 1960, Caplow gave continuity with the 1956-58 Committee. In the course of negotiations in early 1959, the Rockefeller Foundation inquired whether the Association "is sufficiently interested in this proposal to provide a share of the expenses itself and apply to the Foundation for the balance." After discussions in Council, a year later (March 1960) the Executive Committee appropriated \$1,000 for the evaluation project, with the proviso that the balance of \$3,500 come from a foundation. Shortly thereafter, application was made to the Rockefeller Foundation, which has not acted favorably on the request.

What of the other activities proposed in the Committee's 1955-56 survey? Some are more

properly the concerns of the Council and Executive Committee (e.g., "to encourage research on sociology") or the newly-forming Sections (e.g., "to sponsor annual reports on research in various specialisms"), which have in fact taken steps in these directions. The academic community as a whole has in recent years furnished "a comprehensive bulletin . . . up to date—on research funds and fellowships" and "a prize." The annual Census of Research, set up with the Committee's assistance, is routinely handled by the Executive Office.

The Committee is doubtlessly ready to receive and follow through within its capacities on worthwhile suggestions from any source. The 1961 Chairman did not believe in activity for activity's sake or appearance. It was with forethought and consultation of others that he concluded that the 1961 Committee could also serve by standing in wait.

Respectfully submitted,
BURTON R. FISHER
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Classification

In March, 1961, the Executive Committee regretfully accepted the resignation of Elbridge Sibley as Chairman and member of the Committee on Classification. Rex D. Hopper was named as his replacement.

Throughout the year the Committee continued to apply to classification problems the principles evolved in preceding years. This year applications for "active" membership in the Association again posed issues that are broader than the question of the status of any individual applicant. The desirability or feasibility of leniency in admitting as "active" special categories of applicants is a problem in point. "Active" status is a prerequisite for membership in the Sections on Social Psychology, Methodology, and Criminology. Individual members of the Association who wish to be members of these Sections but whose interests are limited to fields which overlap the boundaries of Sociology, are forced to apply for Classification as "actives." If the rules are enforced with leniency, the Committee may be establishing the pass for a permanent group of "active" members who will never qualify for "Fellow" status. If on the other hand, these individuals are classified as "Associates" they are debarred from participation in the Section which reflects their interests. The problem merits thought and discussion.

As of 1961, 162 members of the Association who had been classified "Active" in 1956 were automatically eligible for "Fellow" status under the By-Laws; reclassification for an additional 75 of the 1956 "Active" group depended upon

their "major commitment to sociology." Of these 237, 192 become "Fellows"; 12 requested reclassification as "Associate" members; the remaining 23 either dropped out by reason of death or considered decision, or to date have neither paid their 1961 dues nor indicated whether they have a "major commitment to sociology."

Respectfully submitted,
REX D. HOPPER, *Chairman*
BERNARD BARBER
WELLMAN WARNER

Report of the Committee on Organization and Plans

At the first New York Meeting of the 1960 Council, the Committee on the Profession was dissolved in accordance with its own recommendation and four separate committees each representing a former sub-committee were authorized. The former "steering committee" became the Committee on Organization and Plans. The more important activities of this Committee were the following:

I. *Council Representation*—At the request of the Executive Committee the 1958 proposal for a change in the Association By-Laws to provide that all members of the Council be chosen by the membership of the Association was reconsidered. Four plans for the election of representatives from the affiliated societies were presented by mail for comment and expression of preference preceding the New York Meeting of the Committee on March 3, 1960, when, after lengthy discussion, the Committee voted to make the following recommendation to the Executive Committee:

1. Representation of subject matter affiliates:

In view of the fact that the Association now has Sections concerned with special subject areas, and that Sections are not represented on the Council, it seems inappropriate to continue representation of subject matter affiliates on the Council. It was recommended that if the Executive Committee found itself in agreement with this view, there should be positive discussion with officers of these affiliates of the circumstances leading to the proposal for the termination of their representation in the Council through an amendment to the By-Laws.

2. Representation of the regional societies: In

order that all members of the Council may be chosen by vote restricted to members of the Association, a change in the Constitution and By-Laws was proposed to provide:

- a. that each regional society shall nominate as candidates for the Council for the customary three-year term two of its members who shall be Fellows of the American Sociological Association;

- b. that the names of the nominees of the regional societies shall appear on the ballot of the national Association and the voting members of the Association shall be instructed to vote for one of the two from their region and for no other;
- c. that given the three-year terms, there be provided in this amendment some mechanism for staggering the candidacies for regional representation, i.e., the ballot would require voting for regional representatives from each of the regions every third year.

II. State and Regional Associations—It was recommended to the Executive Committee that a joint committee composed of representatives of the Association and of the Regional Societies be set up to consider problems of chartering state organizations. The proposed committee is to be comprised of representatives of the Executive Committee, of Regional Societies, and of individuals concerned with the organization of state bodies. In view of the rising importance, at the state level, of certification in general, teacher certification requirements, statistical data collection and development, and civil service regulations, it was further recommended that provision be made for an early meeting of this proposed *ad hoc* committee.

At the request of officers of a regional association consideration was given to regional boundaries. It was recommended that the national Association leave the boundaries of Regional Societies to the Societies but refer the question to the study sub-committee mentioned above.

III. Sections—The Committee recommended to the Executive Committee that a sub-committee of the Committee on Organization and Plans be appointed to study the concept and principles of Section organization and to develop a typology of possibilities for communication to the general membership at the business meetings in St. Louis.

It was voted that in order to keep down costs, maintain proper integration within the profession, and simplify organization, assessment of dues to Section members shall be made only by action of the Council of the parent organization. The dues shall be collected through the machinery of the Association's headquarters.

Respectfully submitted,
DONALD YOUNG
Chairman

Report of the Committee on State Certification and Legislation

The Committee has sought to implement the policies previously worked out with the Ameri-

can Psychological Association, and approved by the ASA Council. In effect, this means that the APA national office undertakes to see that an exemption clause in behalf of sociologically-trained social psychologists would be inserted in any legislation certifying or licensing psychologists. This agreement specifies that the ASA will work out a method for determining the eligibility of such sociologically-trained social psychologists for such certification or licensing and will also develop procedures for controlling any irregularities or abuses that might occur.

State representatives of this Committee have been very effective in seeing that the psychologists framing state laws were aware of the agreement at the national level and have provided copies of the so-called Utah and Michigan formulas as guides. On occasion, a state representative has reported a situation in which the good offices of the national APA were requested by our Committee. As far as we can determine, no state legislation was passed this year which lacked the exemption clause.

There still remains, however, the problem of changing already existing legislation which discriminates against sociologically-trained social psychologists. The representatives in New York State have been working throughout the year on the problem in that State, and this effort continues.

A special committee, under the chairmanship of Edgar F. Borgatta, has been preparing for the Section on Social Psychology the necessary details for certifying properly trained social psychologists and for administering such certification once it is established.

The Committee has turned its attention to another matter which may have even more long-run significance for sociologists than certification of social psychologists. This is the employment opportunities for sociologists in state government. The state representatives of this Committee are supplying material about those positions which are either available to sociologists or have the term sociologist or social scientist in their title. This material is currently being analyzed to form a picture of practices throughout the country.

Respectfully submitted,
IRWIN T. SANDERS, *Chairman*
ROBERT O. CARLSON
NEAL GROSS
ALEX INKELES
JOHN W. RILEY, JR.
BARTLETT H. STODLEY
GUY E. SWANSON

Report of the Committee on Sociologists in the Federal Government

During the past year the Committee undertook a survey of Sociologists in the Federal Government. Of the 170 sociologists who responded, all but 34 held membership in the American Sociological Association. This includes 49 Fellows of the Association. All of the Fellows on the original mailing list responded to the questionnaire. A little more than one-third of the total who responded reported a Ph.D. in Sociology, and a little less than one-third reported an M.A. in the field.

The Department reporting the largest number of Sociologists was the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with a total of 63, of whom 38 were in the Public Health Service and 10 in the Office of Education. The Department of Commerce followed with 29 (nearly all of whom were in the Bureau of the Census); 16 persons were employed in the Department of Defense, 15 in the Department of Agriculture, and 10 in the Department of State.

Since there is no Civil Service register established for Sociologists as such, the persons with that specialty are classified under other headings. Among those responding, 52 reported that they held positions as statisticians and 38 were classified as social science analysts. Nine were classified as economists and 14 as psychologists. Statistical methodology was mentioned as a field of specialization by 84 of the 170 respondents, population and demography by 56, and social psychology by 41. On an average, respondents mentioned two fields of specialization.

Among the total of 170, 103 reported less than 10 years of service and 67 reported 10 years or more. Forty of these had 15 years of service or more.

Respondents were asked to classify the distribution of their time while on the job. Thirty-eight per cent of the time was reported as devoted to research, 29 per cent to program management and administration, and 19 per cent to advisory and consultation services.

It appears clear from the responses that sociologists are widely distributed within the Federal Government, although the term is not used as a job title. The Committee believes also that the survey shows a need for formal representation of the Association on the Washington scene, in order to assure that the contributions of the sociologists and sociology are

more fully brought to bear on the work of the Federal Government.

Respectfully submitted,
CONRAD TAEUBER
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Social Statistics

The Committee has continued to be primarily concerned with improving the flow of communications between sociologists and such federal agencies as the Bureau of the Census. In past years, its efforts included such activities as canvassing the membership of the American Sociological Association with respect to the scope and content of the decennial census. During the current year a number of Committee activities have been directed toward maintaining and extending these communication links.

1. The Committee has arranged a special session for the St. Louis meeting of the Association on "Analytical Uses of Census and Survey Data." The papers, especially commissioned by the Committee, are concerned with the research uses of the 1960 Census of Population and Housing, the Current Population Survey, the Censuses of Business and Manufacturing, and the social statistics compiled by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

2. The Committee has prepared for the Bureau of the Census and other interested agencies a series of mailing lists arranged according to the subject-matter interests of the members of the Association. The lists cover the following general topics: population and demography, human ecology, urban sociology, occupations and professions, industrial sociology, and marriage and the family. The Bureau plans to use them in distributing announcements of publication and tabulation plans, and it is hoped that a similar practice will be followed by other agencies.

3. The Chairman has served as the Association's representative on a Work Group of the Committee on the 1960 Census, Population Association of America, advising the Bureau of the Census on the nature and content of a special "public-use sample" to be drawn from the 1960 census returns. This special sample will be made available to sociologists and other researchers, and will permit the development of a large number of special studies that would not be possible on the basis of ordinary census publications and tabulations. The Work Group and the Committee on Social Statistics will meet jointly in conjunction with the St. Louis meeting of the Association, in order to formulate a set

of specific recommendations concerning this important new research resource.

The Committee would welcome suggestions from individual members of the Association regarding new avenues of effort that might be followed in reaching its goal—improved availability and utility of social statistics for sociological purposes.

Respectfully submitted,
 LEO F. SCHNORE, *Chairman*
 THEODORE R. ANDERSON
 ROBERT B. BURNIGHT
 JOHN F. KANTNER
 DUDLEY KIRK
 GERHARD E. LENSKI

Report of the Committee on Marriage and Divorce Statistics

The Committee has continued its efforts to encourage additional states to join the Marriage and Divorce Registration Areas. For the most part this has consisted in lending our professional support to the need for uniform and complete coverage. As of January 1, 1961, there were thirty-five states in the Marriage Registration Area and twenty states in the Divorce Registration Area. During the past year, Indiana and Massachusetts have joined the MRA and Missouri and Michigan have been included in the DRA. Several other states are in the process of working toward the requirements established by the National Office of Vital Statistics, and the Areas can be expected to grow appreciably during the next few years.

Acting on the recommendation of the Committee last year, President Faris authorized the Committee to appoint new members from non-Area states not represented on the Committee. With Committee members now working in their own states, they will be better acquainted with the problems holding up Area membership and will be able to work with the responsible officials more effectively in helping them to achieve membership.

Respectfully submitted,
 CHARLES E. BOWERMAN
Chairman

Report of the Committee on International Cooperation

In March, 1961, the Executive Committee voted to change the name of the Committee on Relations with Foreign Sociologists to Committee on International Cooperation.

Following through on the recommendations of the 1960 Committee, the Committee undertook the development, with the aid of the Executive Office, of a roster of foreign sociologists visiting in the United States. Department chairmen were asked to list visitors, and effective continuing contacts were established with the Department of State and the Institute of International Education. An initial roster of twenty professional sociologists and thirty-five graduate students was compiled. Copies of the roster were forwarded to department chairmen and to program chairmen of regional sociological societies.

The next steps taken were the mailing of a welcoming letter to the visitors, and a survey of their views on measures the Association might initiate to enhance the professional value of a stay within the United States. Cordial invitations to attend the 1961 Annual Meetings were issued, and in a number of instances accepted. The survey results, however, were inconclusive.

It is recommended that the 1962 Committee:

- a. Study means of effective cooperation more thoroughly;
- b. Consider ways of supplementing the activities of the International Sociological Association for "The facilitation of contacts between specialized groups in our Association with their counterparts elsewhere, particularly in relation to those countries whose journals are not widely distributed or easily read here," as recommended by the 1960 Committee.

Respectfully submitted,
 REX D. HOPPER
Chairman

Report of the Committee to Administer the Carnegie Travel Grant

Since the administration of the grant for which this Committee was appointed has now been substantially completed, it seems appropriate to summarize here the entire activities of the Committee. As a result of the grant of 9,000 dollars made to the Association by the Carnegie Corporation four years ago, it has been possible to provide for official representation at seven separate international meetings. At the same time 13 members of the Association have been assisted in attending these meetings through travel grants averaging around 600 dollars. They have served as official delegates to the following:

International Family Congress, Paris, France
 (1958)

International Sociological Association meetings, Milan and Stresa, Italy (1959)
 International Criminological Society meetings, The Hague, Netherlands (1960)
 Sixth International Congress of Social Defense, Belgrade, Yugoslavia (1961)
 World Federation of Mental Health Congress, Paris, France (1961)
 Sixth Congress of the Latin American Sociological Association, Caracas, Venezuela (1961)
 Fifth World Congress of the International Political Science Association, Paris, France (1961)

Grants were made to five delegates to the meetings of the International Sociological Association. Since this is the only organization of which the ASA is itself a member, it was considered desirable to have a relatively large representation.

Total expenditures for travel grants to all meetings is 2,929 dollars. Administrative expenses account for 188 dollars, giving total expenditures of 3,117 dollars as of September 1, 1961.

Policies for the allocation of the Carnegie funds were established initially by an *ad hoc* committee and subsequently accepted in essence and carried out by the present Committee. Its major functions have been (1) to determine general policies for use of the grant, (2) to establish and publish in *The American Sociological Review* a list of organizations to which the Association might appropriately send official representatives, (3) to handle requests for travel grants and related correspondence and to refer requests which met requirements for the consideration of the President and the Council, (4) to authorize the Executive Officer to maintain official accounts and to issue checks to delegates in approved amounts, and (5) to serve as clearing-house of information about other sources of possible travel grants for international meetings. In addition, the Committee has advised the American Council of Learned Societies at their request about applications for travel grants made to that organization by sociologists.

At no time has the Committee selected or rejected any applicants for grants. In line with the original policy determination, grants have been limited to official delegates appointed by the President and Council. Such persons have in all cases been members of the Association who held responsible positions within it or who were presenting papers or otherwise actively participating in the meetings at which they served as representatives. Grants have been limited to the amount of the round-trip economy fare between the delegate's home city and that in which the conference met. This limitation was intended to spread assistance among the

largest number of persons possible. Persons not eligible as delegates were referred to the Social Science Research Council, the National Science Foundation, and other organizations making travel grants.

Recommendations. The Committee believes that the grant of the Carnegie Corporation has been of great importance to the Association. Funds not otherwise available in its budget have been utilized to promote contacts and exchange of knowledge which have had value both to the Association and to individual members. The Committee therefore strongly recommends that a renewal of this grant be sought to go into effect as early as possible.

In the judgment of the Committee the greatest working difficulty has been the lack of time which the President and Council, concerned with many more pressing questions, have had to consider appointing delegates. If a new grant is received, the Committee therefore recommends that consideration be given to delegate to the Committee the power to appoint representatives subject to ratification by the President and Council. It should, of course, be made clear to all members of the Association that they are eligible for consideration as delegates whenever they are participating actively in the program of an appropriate meeting.

Finally, regardless of whether a renewal grant is received, the Committee recommends that it be discharged at this time.

Respectfully submitted,
 VINCENT WHITNEY, *Chairman*
 ROBERT ANGELL
 STUART QUEEN

Report of the Committee to Administer the Asia Foundation Grant for Improving Relations with Asian Sociologists

In 1960, due to a deficit arising from the 1959 operations, the Asia Foundation fund available to the Association was augmented by an extra non-recurring grant of 1,000 dollars. Added to the regular sum of 2,500 dollars, this brought the total sum to be expended up to 3,500 dollars. Before analyzing the expenditures under this augmented fund, let us look back upon 1959 briefly to see how the deficit arose.

It is noteworthy that the demand of Asian individuals and organizations for membership in the Association has been heavy. As the enclosed balance sheet makes clear, there were 45 new members joining in 1958, 46 in 1959, and 31 in 1960, making a total of 122 new members during the three years. The demand

for memberships has held up remarkably well, but relative to other expenses this item has shown a declining trend. It constituted 74 per cent of the total expenditure in 1958, 60 per cent in 1959, and 52 per cent in 1960. Of interest is the fact that most of the memberships are not student memberships but regular memberships. The deficit incurred in 1959 arose from the circumstance that the demand for memberships, especially regular memberships, was highest that year, as was also the travel to annual meetings.

The extra funds in 1960 went mainly to make up the deficit of 1959. However, in an effort to be cautious and not to run up another deficit, the fund was administered more parsimoniously in 1960, with the result that a surplus was available to be carried over into 1961. This accounts for the fact that only 577 dollars was expended on travel grants and 1,150 dollars for memberships, as against larger sums for both items in 1959.

In the first part of 1961 we have had 14 applications for travel grants to the meetings. One of these is being turned down for cause. This will leave 13 Asians in this country who are being aided financially to attend the annual meeting, and the expenditure for this item is estimated at 750 dollars. Often one or more applicants find at the last minute they cannot make the trip, but often also we have late applicants who send their requests only a few days before the meeting. Our subsidies for travel in 1961 are based normally on a rate of 4.5 cents per mile, rounded to the nearest 5.00 dollars. Already in 1961 there have been 21 new memberships under the grant and 20 renewals. This means that the demand for memberships and for the Association's journals is holding up extremely well.

We believe that during the three years of its operation, this fund has been of immense value in acquainting Asian sociologists with the work of Americans in this field. The response has been so great as to put strong pressure on the funds available. We have feared to give too much promotion to the program, because the effect might be to disappoint many Asian scholars. For the same reason we have been rather frugal in giving travel funds, which doubtless accounts for the fact that the number of applicants has not risen to the point where a substantial portion would have to be turned away. All told, it seems safe to conclude that the grant has achieved a result that is extremely effective and encouraging in ratio to the dollars spent. It is recommended that the Council, through the President, express its appreciation to the Asia Foundation, and that the substance

of the present report be transmitted to the Foundation as the Association's statement on the handling of the grant in 1960.

Respectfully submitted,
KINGSLEY DAVIS
Chairman

Report of the Representative to the International Sociological Association

The International Sociological Association is the recognized international body which seeks to promote the development of sociology on a world wide basis. By now it has established a firm foundation. Its membership embraces 35 national sociological organizations from the following countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, China (Taiwan), Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Jugo-Slavia, Mexico, Netherlands, Norway, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Roumania, Turkey, United Arab Republic, U.S.S.R., U.S.A., and Venezuela. In addition, its membership includes 26 sociological institutes located in a number of the above named countries and also in France, Federation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland, Indonesia, Iran, Israel, Sweden, and Uganda. It has also in its membership several international associations devoted to specific areas of sociology. Finally, the I.S.A. has a number of individual members, chiefly from countries not named above such as Belgian Congo, Burma, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Ghana, Greece, Hong-Kong, Ireland, Iceland, Lebanon, New Zealand, Panama, Republic of South Africa, and Switzerland. The combined list of the countries which have been named shows that the membership of the International Sociological Association covers the major portion of the world.

The chief ways in which the International Sociological Association endeavors to further the development of sociology on the world scene are through (a) the publication of *Current Sociology*, (b) the establishment of subcommittees on research, and (c) the periodic holding of world congresses of sociologists. A few words should be said about each of these lines of endeavor.

Current Sociology is the only scholarly journal officially dedicated to serve the world community of sociologists. This publication, now in its eighth volume, deserves the full support of American sociologists. Every member of the American Sociological Association should endeavor to enter an individual subscription to this journal and to have his college or university library enter a standing order for it. Such

modest individual efforts can contribute greatly to an expansion of international scholarship in our field.

The International Sociological Association now has eight sub-committees organized to promote and prosecute sociological research. These sub-committees, each with an international membership, are devoted to the following fields: Urban and Rural Sociology, Stratification and Social Mobility, the Family, Industrial Sociology, Political Sociology, Mass Communication, Sociology and Psychiatry, and the Sociology of Religion. A small amount of financial aid is given to each of these committees. To the extent to which limited finances allow, occasional meetings of each sub-committee are held. The sub-committees share in the organization of the program of the world congresses. The arrangement for sub-committees on research is one of the most promising and fruitful ways in which the I.S.A. promotes world-wide comparative research in given areas of sociological interest.

The major endeavor of the International Sociological Association is to hold world congresses of sociologists. Four such congresses, meeting at three-year intervals, have been held in the past. As all of us know, the Fifth World Congress of Sociologists is to be held in Washington, D. C. on September 2-8, 1962 with our Association as the host. A brief account of the I.S.A. program plan will be found in the report of the Chairman of the American Organizing Committee. The program shows promise of being vital and timely.

Our Association has established a national committee, headed by R. C. Angell, and two local committees for New York and Washington, D. C., headed respectively by Robert Merton and Conrad Taeuber, to assist in the arrangements for the Fifth World Congress. The indications are that there will be a sizable foreign attendance at the Congress. This will be made possible in large part by generous grants, to be applied to travel fares, coming from the Social Science Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the National Science Foundation. Members of our Association can also give valuable assistance by arranging visiting professorships in their colleges and universities for foreign sociologists during the school terms preceding or following the September, 1962 meeting. Such appointments may enable foreign sociologists to cover all or a large part of the travel costs to our country and the costs of attending the meeting in Washington, D. C.

Somewhat like our nation, our Association is confronted with opportunities and obligations

of increased participation in the emerging international world. Our Association should be prepared to give increasing support to the activities of the International Sociological Association, lending full aid to efforts to develop sociology on the world-wide scene and employing our influence to raise standards of sociological research and scholarship.

Respectfully submitted,
HERBERT BLUMER

Report of the American Organizing Committee for the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, 1962

Plans for the Fifth World Congress of Sociology, sponsored by the International Sociological Association, to be held in Washington September 2-8, 1962 are already far advanced. The major topics to be discussed are (1) Sociologists, Policy Makers and the Public, (2) The Sociology of Development, and (3) The Nature and Problems of Sociological Theory. The Program Committee of the ISA is extending invitations to outstanding scholars in many countries to give papers.

The general plan is to have the main papers on each of the three major themes published in advance in two volumes of *Transactions*. These papers will also be circulated in advance among the contributors to the plenary sessions. Work groups small enough for active interchange among all Congress participants will be formed for discussions in following sessions.

The World Congress will follow immediately upon the meetings of the American Sociological Association and will also be held in the Shoreham. The plenary session on Sociologists, Policy Makers, and the Public on Sunday afternoon, September 2, is a joint meeting of the two Associations. It is hoped that some of those attending the American meetings will stay through the World Congress. Notice about registration for the Congress will be given to all members of the ASA later.

Two generous grants have been made in support of the Congress, one of 50,000 dollars from the ACLS-SSRC Committee administering a Ford Foundation grant, and one of 25,000 dollars from the National Science Foundation. These monies will be largely used to defray the travel cost of foreign scholars who are preparing papers. It is hoped that the presence of scholars from abroad may be facilitated by teaching opportunities in American universities either before or after the Congress. Any department wishing to explore this possibility should communicate with Janice Harris Hopper,

Administrative Officer of the American Sociological Association.

The American Organizing Committee of the ISA consists of 17 persons, many of whom have special assignments. Conrad Taeuber is in charge of Washington arrangements, assisted by Paul Myers. Robert Merton is in charge of the reception in New York of Europeans coming by chartered airplane. Daniel Bell will assist him. Wolfram Eberhard is charged with the reception at San Francisco of those coming from Asia. Other members are Robert Bierstedt, Herbert Blumer, W. Fred Cottrell, Kingsley Davis, Robert Faris, Paul Lazarsfeld, Seymour Lipset, Talcott Parsons, Irwin T. Sanders, Donald Young, Pierre de Bie, Secretary-General of the ISA, and the undersigned.

Respectfully submitted,
ROBERT C. ANGELL
Chairman

Report of the Committee on Translating and Abstracting Scientific Publications in Foreign Languages

During the past year the Committee has reviewed the complex problem of acquainting American sociologists with the results of sociological works that are currently available only in languages other than English, French or German. The Committee was stimulated in its task by the information that the Office of Scientific Information of National Science Foundation is able to support programs of abstracting and translating of foreign material as well as review-of-the-literature papers on foreign scientific activities.

It was recognized that the task of providing information on foreign-language works is carried on at several different levels (e.g., bibliographic, indexing, abstracting, selective translation, and complete monograph or journal cover-to-cover translation). The Committee also recognized and discussed in meetings and in correspondence the needs for avoiding overlap or duplication of any new activities with existing indexing, abstracting, or translating services such as the *Sociological Abstracts*; the Bureau of the Census' Foreign Manpower Research Division which is currently indexing social science journals of East European countries; the Hispanic Foundation's *Handbook of Latin American Studies* which summarizes certain Spanish and Portuguese sociological works; and the several activities of UNESCO. The *Sociological Abstracts* has been publishing translated abstracts from at least one major sociological journal in about a dozen different

countries and is currently expanding its coverage with the help of a grant from NSF. In view of the role *Sociological Abstracts* is playing in this area and in view of its potential for expansion, we feel that the Committee and the Association should not take any action that would prejudice the Abstracts' chances for expanded service; furthermore, we feel that a closer working relationship between the Association and the Abstracts would be beneficial.

In order to establish priorities for languages to be treated, the Committee felt that the following criteria might be used. These criteria are listed in order of importance:

1. Contribution to sociology of works in that language;
2. The information provided in the material on local conditions, social life, etc.;
3. The value of the material in the information it provides on the nature of professional social science activities;
4. The importance of the country producing the material in the current international scene.

On the basis of these criteria, and after reviewing various published review-of-the-literature articles, members of the Committee recommended languages to be considered for new and expanded programs of abstracting and/or translation. The languages recommended for treatment include: Latin American Portuguese and Spanish, Dutch, Norwegian, Swedish, Finnish, Polish, Chinese, Japanese, Russian, Hebrew and Arabic, with programs varying in scope.

In respect to many other languages, Committee members felt that there was insufficient information to recommend now an abstracting or translation program. These include: Italian, Danish, Serbo-Croatian, Czech, Romanian, Hungarian and Greek. The Committee recommends that state-of-the-science papers be written for these and possibly some additional language areas. Current literature reviews do not provide a sufficient basis for judgment using the criteria listed above. The Committee has prepared a preliminary list of names of persons who might undertake this task.

The Committee recommends that the ASA (in its own name or through a designated institution) request a grant from the Office of Science Information Service of the National Science Foundation to meet the cost of one-year's work preliminary to firm recommendations of programs of abstracting and translating of foreign language sociological material. The grant would cover the following operations:

1. The preparation of recommendations by language area experts regarding abstracting/translation programs for those languages

which are known to contain sufficient works of merit to justify such programs.

2. The preparation of state-of-the-science papers, to include abstracting/translation recommendations where appropriate, for those languages which still need investigation before recommendations can be made.

3. The coordination and direction of the work by this Committee or by some other group designated by ASA. The Committee's or group's assignment would include: the selection of individuals to perform the above tasks; the collection of information concerning the various indexing, abstracting, reviewing, and translating programs in government and elsewhere of pertinence to the project; liaison with the National Science Foundation; the establishment of criteria and guidelines to assure some uniformity in the work; the preparation of a report on the results of the work for NSF; and the preparation of recommendations to ASA on programs of abstracting and translating.

The Committee would be willing to prepare a proposal along these lines if so directed by ASA.

Respectfully submitted,

ROBERT T. BOWER, *Chairman*

MORRIS BERGER

LEO P. CHALL

ROBERT A. FELDMESSER

MARION J. LEVY

N. L. WHETTEN

Report of the Representative to the Social Science Research Council

Detailed information concerning the numerous activities of the Council is contained in its annual report and in the publication, *Items*, issued quarterly.

The Council has operated fellowship programs of various kinds for many years. Research fellowships have been offered in every year, beginning in 1925, and continue to be directed toward the basic objective of developing the qualified individual's capacity for a lifetime career of research.

Awards made by the Council during the year have included the following: 51 research training fellowships (8 including postdoctoral awards), 46 faculty research fellowships, 37 grants-in-aid, 18 grants for Asian studies, and 17 grants for Slavic and East European studies (sponsored jointly with the American Council of Learned Societies). A smaller number of grants were made in each of several other special fields of study.

Representatives of the American Sociological Association to the Council are John A. Clausen,

Wilbert E. Moore, and Robin M. Williams, Jr. During the year, Dr. Clausen was designated by the Association to serve as a director of the Council for the three-year term 1961-63 succeeding Conrad Taeuber. Two important committees are currently chaired by sociologists: the Committee on Socialization and Social Structure (John A. Clausen), and the Committee on Population Census Monographs (Dudley Kirk).

Among publications sponsored or facilitated by the Council and appearing during 1961-62, the following may be of special interest to sociologists: *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas* (edited by Wilbert E. Moore and Arnold S. Feldman), *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957* (prepared by the Bureau of the Census with the assistance of the former Advisory Committee on Historical Statistics); *Scandinavian Students on an American Campus* (William H. Sewell and Oluf M. Davidson); *The Two-Way Mirror: National Status in Foreign Students' Adjustment* (Richard T. Morris); *Theoretical Studies in Social Organization of the Prison* (Richard A. Cloward et al.).

During the year the Council continued to sponsor conferences for which careful preparations had been made by various committees. A recent example is provided by the sociologically relevant conference on critical periods of development of the individual organism, reported in the June, 1961 issue of *Items*.

Current interest in problems of social change is reflected in the work of several committees, including the Committees on Economic Growth, Urbanization, and Comparative Politics. Noteworthy also is the preponderant interest in work abroad shown by faculty research fellows; of 24 recent fellows, 19 plan to do research outside of the United States.

Pursuant to a joint request from the ACLS and the SSRC, the Ford Foundation has granted 800,000 dollars to the ACLS for use over a five-year period for grants for Asian studies, for Slavic and East European studies, and for related activities such as the Joint Committee on Slavic Studies.

Approximately 70 awards have been made by the Committee on International Travel Grants and the Executive Committee of the Council to assist social scientists resident in the United States to attend international congresses outside this country in 1961. The Council continues to have excellent relations with the State Department in connection with the conduct of the Fulbright Educational Exchange Program.

The major emphases of the Council's program continue to reflect the view reiterated by Presi-

dent Pendleton Herring in his address at the 1960 meetings of the Association for the Advancement of Science: "... the social and behavioral sciences will have more and more to offer as basic research of high quality is fostered and opportunities for advanced training are increased."

Respectfully submitted,
ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR.
Senior Representative

Report of the Delegate to the American Council of Learned Societies

Two items in this year's Council affairs may be of special interest:

1. The highlight of the annual meeting was a paper by George Homans on the relationship between the social sciences and the humanities. This paper was very well received and stimulated a good deal of discussion. It was generally felt that this session did much to create a better understanding between these two sectors of the academic community.
2. The ACLS Committee on the Secondary Schools has commissioned background papers from scholars in each of the disciplines and areas concerned with the teaching of social studies, and the paper on sociology is being written by Gresham Sykes. This project is being carried out in cooperation with the National Council for Social Studies. It has already attracted favorable notice and an article in the New York Times on June 11, 1961, among other matters, reported that "the new approach (in the country's schools) will take greater cognizance of sociology, anthropology and the now generally neglected area of Asian and Russian studies."

Grant and fellowship programs of interest to members of the Association are:

1. Fellowships—intended primarily to provide uninterrupted free time for scholarly activity. Maximum stipend 7,000 dollars. Filing date, October 16, 1961.
2. Grants-in-aid—to provide funds in support of research. Maximum stipend 2,000 dollars. Filing dates, September 30, 1961 and February 15, 1962.
3. Area Programs: (Sponsored jointly by the ACLS and the Social Science Research Council—stipends are generally flexible)
 - a) Grants for Research on Asia (East Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia). Filing date, December 15, 1961.
 - b) Grants for Slavic and East European Studies (U.S.S.R., the Baltic States, Finland, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania and Yugoslavia). Filing date, December 15, 1961.
 - c) Grants for Research on Africa, Contemporary China, Latin America, and the Near

and Middle East. (This program is administered by the SSRC and inquiries should be addressed directly to 230 Park Ave., New York 17, New York)

- d) Travel Grants to International Congresses and Conferences. Funds are presently available only for meetings to be held after July 11, 1962. Since the ACLS will rely upon the Association for recommendations for all congresses and conferences which are primarily sociological in nature, inquiries of this nature should be addressed to the Executive Office.

Additional information on any of these programs and activities may be obtained from the ACLS, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, New York.

Respectfully submitted,
JOHN W. RILEY, JR.

Report of the Representative to the Council of the American Association for the Advancement of Science

The Committee on Science in the Promotion of Human Welfare (successor to the Committee on the Social Aspects of Science) published a report in *Science* for July 8, 1960. The report concludes that the scientific community should, on its own initiative, assume an obligation to call to public attention those issues of public policy which relate to science and to provide for the general public facts and estimates of alternative policies. It listed the following as questions of immediate importance:

1. The social consequences of technological progress.
2. The association of scientific research and military activities.
3. International aspects of science.
4. Government support for scientific research.
5. How can scientists best meet their public responsibilities?
6. The integrity of science.

The Committee believed that it should undertake to stimulate discussion among scientists on problems of immediate importance, and, accordingly, organized two symposia at the 1960 annual meeting dealing with: (a) psychological problems of disarmament, and (b) current efforts toward public education on radiation. The Committee has also begun the preparation of statements relative to the problems relating to the integrity of science as science and scientists become more deeply involved in social issues.

The American Sociological Association cooperated with the AAAS in the annual meeting in 1960 by arranging two sessions under the Chairmanship of Vincent Whitney of the University of Pennsylvania; one dealing with The Soci-

ology of Science, and the other with Population Trends and Policies in the Communist Countries.

F. F. Stephan of Princeton is Chairman of Section K and a Vice President of the AAAS in 1961.

Respectfully submitted,
CONRAD TAEUBER

Report of the Representative to the American Correctional Association

Members of the American Correctional Association continue to show a lively interest in sociological studies of correctional problems. At the last annual meeting in September, 1960, several sessions were devoted to the reporting of research results and theoretical analyses of prison, probation, and parole problems. A growing concern on the part of sociologists with the study of juvenile correctional treatment processes was also evident in reports and discussion at the more recent joint meeting of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency, its regional affiliate, and the National Association of Training Schools and Juvenile Agencies at Atlantic City in June, 1961.

The response to these reports indicates an increasing willingness on the part of correctional administrators to promote sociological studies of their establishments. The major obstacle continues to be an inability to secure competent research staff to conduct these inquiries.

It would greatly facilitate recruitment if sociologists interested in conducting research on correctional problems would register this interest with the newly established research and information center of the National Council on Crime and Delinquency. The opportunities in facilities and funds now exceed by a considerable margin the number of qualified persons to direct projects. NCCD can perform a valuable function as a clearinghouse for research personnel and appropriate project placements. Sociologists can help to make this service effective by making their research interests known to the NCCD Center.

Respectfully submitted,
LLOYD E. OHLEN

Report of the Representatives to the American Public Health Association Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health

The Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health met at San Francisco on October 30, 1960, during the Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association.

The accomplishments and plans of the Committee were reviewed. Two institutes on public

health and the behavioral sciences have been held, one for the State of Pennsylvania. Each brought health administrators and social scientists together for several days of exploration of problems of mutual interest. Two additional institutes were planned. One, scheduled for January, 1961 in Philadelphia, was to be a national conference on human behavior and environmental health; the other was planned for Los Angeles, California, in April, 1961.

Both the Philadelphia and Los Angeles meetings have been held. Reports on both are scheduled to appear during 1961.

Members of the Committee on Behavioral Sciences in Public Health were involved as planners and participants in the Conference on Culture, Society, and Health, co-sponsored by the New York Academy of Sciences and the Research Institute for the Study of Man, in June, 1960. A report of the conference has been published by the New York Academy of Sciences.

Edward Wellin, who serves as Director, Behavioral Sciences Activities, for the Committee, is engaged in a study of the uses of the behavioral (or social) sciences in public health, the study being commissioned on the basis of a contractual arrangement with National Institute of Mental Health.

No action of the Council is requested at this time.

Respectfully submitted,
EDWARD A. SUCHMAN
JEROME K. MYERS

Report of the Liaison Officer to the National Association of Social Workers

A certification procedure for social work practitioners was adopted by a vote of 178 to 64 by the Association's Third Delegate Assembly. Its stated aim is "to protect the public against abuses and incompetence on the part of those who seek to practice without the necessary personal qualifications, training and experience, and to facilitate and encourage the highest possible standards of professional performance."

An Academy of Certified Social Workers (ACSW) has been established. All present members of the National Association of Social Workers are eligible for certification. New members can apply for certification only after two years of paid and continuous social work employment in one agency or organization, averaging a minimum of thirty hours a week. During this time the applicant will have to be supervised by a member of the Academy of Certified Social Workers. The requirement for supervision can be waived in special circumstances to be defined by a national commission

on personnel standards and practices. Each new application for certification must be endorsed by the candidate's local National Association of Social Workers chapter, verifying the facts set forth by the applicant.

Voluntary certification, as opposed to legislatively authorized licensing, was chosen because of the belief that many difficulties would be encountered in getting in each state the necessary legal sanction for licensing. Only about 20 per cent of the persons employed in the social welfare field have enough professional training to be eligible for membership in the National Association of Social Workers. Non-member social workers that constitute the vast majority in Departments of Public Welfare, prisons and other public agencies have been unwilling to support licensing standards that include professional training prerequisites. It has also been impossible to find a legal formula for differentiating between the functions performed by those with and without professional training.

The voluntary certification plan was proposed as a first step towards the development of more rigorous standards for advanced professional accomplishment. A commission has been appointed to study the strengths and weaknesses of the present plan and propose ways of certifying social workers with upper levels of competence to be awarded a new title, such as diploma or fellow.

The American Sociological Association was invited to send an observer to the Assembly at which the certification procedure was adopted. It affects social caseworkers as well as group workers, community workers, persons active in social work research and administration. Sociologists have been employed in some of these posts, particularly in the field of community planning and research. The NASW certification program therefore merits being studied by the American Sociological Association. It does not aim to disqualify sociologists or anyone else from employment in research and social action if they have appropriate qualifications. Certification is an intra-professional effort to raise social work standards.

But this development further highlights the urgency of a question that sociologists have been slow to consider organizationally: Is licensing and/or certification a necessary or desirable addition to the Ph.D. as a criterion for full professional participation of sociologists? While psychology and now social work are choosing one path, it is well to keep in mind that most academic disciplines, like anthropology, economics and political science, rely on academic accomplishment as a basis of assessing the qualifications of their members. Care must be

taken that certification and licensing efforts of professional jurisdictions will not have the effect of keeping sociologists from performing services for which they are adequately, if not eminently, prepared by virtue of training and experience.

The Board of Directors of the National Association of Social Workers also voted unanimously in December, 1960 to reaffirm an earlier expression of disapproval of the American Academy of Clinical Sociologists, with headquarters in Portland, Oregon. The name chosen by this group is misleading, since the organization is not one of sociologists, but of social workers.

Respectfully submitted,
JOSEPH W. EATON

Report of the Representative to the Fourth International Criminological Congress

The Fourth International Criminological Congress was held at The Hague, September 5-11, 1960. The Congress is held every five years, the last one being held in London in 1955. There were 45 countries represented and the number of persons attending was approximately 700. The President of the Congress was Thorsten Sellin, who is also the President of the International Society for Criminology which sponsors the Congress meetings.

The meetings were divided into four sections, namely:

1. Methods of Evaluation and Treatment, particularly medical-psychological methods and sociological methods. Chairman: P. Cornil, Belgium.
2. Special Themes, mainly epilepsy, sexual offences and department store thefts. Chairman: O. Loudet, Argentina.
3. Scientific Research. Chairman: W. P. J. Pompe, The Netherlands.
4. A section on Miscellaneous Questions. Chairman: J. Enschedé, The Netherlands.

General lectures were presented by Guttmacher, United States, on "Mental Medicine and Criminal Procedures;" H. Mannheim, United Kingdom, "Criminal Law and Mentally Abnormal Delinquents;" J. M. van Bemmelen, The Netherlands, "Integration in Criminal Politics and Criminal Data on Mentally Abnormal Delinquents," and E. de Greeff, Belgium, "Criminal Data About Mentally Abnormal Delinquents."

Receptions were held for the Congress by the Netherlands' government and the municipalities of The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Leyden. Visits were made to a number of Dutch institutions including the internationally famous observation clinic and treatment center for habitual offenders at Utrecht.

While the participants tended to refer to themselves as "criminologists," they actually fell for the most part into these groups: criminal law professors, psychiatrists and sociologists. Sociologists were definitely a minority and were primarily from North America and Scandinavia. Your representative, who also attended the meetings at London five years ago, felt that there was a greater appreciation of sociological contributions at The Hague meeting by persons from other disciplines. In fact, some participants who considered themselves to be law professors or psychiatrists used the frame of reference and concepts of sociologists in their discussions.

The General Assembly approved a number of resolutions which had been proposed by the various Sections. Many of the resolutions tend to reflect a psychiatric approach but there were indications that some of these were considerably different from what one might have expected several years ago. About mental abnormalities, the Congress approved resolutions such as:

1. The concept of mental abnormality is, unless precisely defined, so vague that it cannot form the main basis for judicial decision, prognosis and treatment.
2. Each serious case should be individually investigated and diagnosed by a team of persons trained in the various fields, with a view to the judicial decision and the ensuing treatment.

On the other hand, the Congress adopted resolutions involving circular reasoning about "mentally abnormal delinquents" which would be hardly acceptable to sociologists such as:

1. Habitual delinquent conduct can be considered to be symptomatic, that is to say as an outward manifestation of a latent pathological condition.
2. Just as compulsive repetition is accepted to be one of the symptoms of nervous disorder, so should the tendency to recidivism be regarded as a symptom of pathological delinquency.

Probably the most interesting agreement was reached about sexual offenders. The Congress adopted the following four resolutions:

1. Sentencing and correctional measures should make appropriate distinctions between sexual crimes that are a menace and those that are merely a nuisance to society.
2. Sexual behavior should be decriminalized when it does not involve injury to a victim (in the legal sense of the word), and is therefore a matter of personal morality.
3. The classification of sexual deviations, referred to above, might be used as a basis for the development of more adequate criteria in classifying sexual offences.
4. As understanding of sexual behavior increases, more attention should be paid to influencing social attitudes by public education thereby bringing about changes in legislation.

Throughout its deliberations, the Congress emphasized the importance of a multi-discipline approach to criminology. For example, criminal science should be introduced into the study of law and other disciplines to acquaint specialists in related fields and those engaged in the treatment of offenders with the main principles of criminal law and criminology. Moreover, magistrates and others who are concerned with criminal law should be encouraged to study criminology. Sociological contributions to correctional administration were emphasized in the need for the study of the social structure of correctional institutions.

About research, the Congress felt that the efficacy of various therapy used in the treatment of crime and delinquency should be evaluated. In addition, more research emphasis needs to be placed on the analytical and empirical study of criminal policy. Finally, the Congress noted the need for more international scientific collaboration in criminal research which would lead to the development of a comparative criminology. The Congress felt that such research could be improved by the establishment of an International Institute of Criminology as a clearing house for criminological research projects and for furnishing information regarding preexisting and current researches under a committee representing the various relevant disciplines. In addition, there should be more systematic collaboration between the International Society for Criminology and other organizations concerned with criminological research.

It is hoped that the attendance of American sociologists at such international meetings where various disciplines are represented helps in some way to broaden the approach of those from other countries. In the long run this may help to develop comparative criminological research which will be more acceptable to sociologically oriented criminologists. For example, research on types of criminal offenders and on behavior systems has not been developed in other countries to the same extent as it has in the United States. The major difficulty at such an international congress is the basic disagreement about the nature of human nature and consequently about the nature of criminal behavior.

It has been proposed that the 1965 meeting of the International Congress of Criminology be held in Montreal, Canada.

Respectfully submitted,
MARSHALL B. CLINARD

Report of the Section on Social Psychology

Activities of the Social Psychology Section during the year, 1960-61, have been primarily

concerned with membership requirements, annual program planning, certification procedures, and publications.

Following extended discussion of membership policy at the annual business meeting in 1960 it was agreed that voting status in the Association and a simple declaration of major interest in social psychology be required. Although this solution appears generally acceptable and parallels that of some other Sections, there are still arguments advanced for more restrictive conditions of membership on the one hand; on the other hand, associate members have protested their exclusion from the Section.

The Association takes the position that the program of the annual meetings is its responsibility rather than the Sections', but that provisions should be made for Section participation. To this end the first day has been assigned for Section meetings, and Section collaboration in other sessions has been arranged. For the 1961 meetings the following procedures were followed. President Faris placed William Sewell in charge of social psychology sessions, and the Section Chairman appointed Fred Strodtbeck and Neal Gross to assist Sewell. The result was several sessions devoted to "Directions in Social Psychology." The Section Chairman arranged a session on personality and social structure for the first day in hope of providing an opportunity for controversy. Continuing improvisation and appraisal will be required in devising effective relationships between the Section and the Association. Among other issues is the question whether the Section should adopt a system of sub-fields in social psychology to guide the program chairman, or whether the matter should be handled on an ad hoc basis.

At the 1960 Annual Meeting the Association Council requested the Section to devise procedures for issuing a certificate to qualified social psychologists, in order to implement the Association's agreement with the American Psychological Association. The Committee on Professional Affairs of the Section was enlarged to five members under the chairmanship of Edgar Borgatta and has been working on this assignment. There is, however, considerable doubt over whether arrangements can be made for state recognition of such certificates.

A major unresolved concern is the Section's proper relationship to *Sociometry*. *Sociometry* is understood to be officially an organ of the Association rather than of the Section. There is, however, considerable feeling that the Section includes the members of the Association best qualified to guide *Sociometry*, and that *Sociometry* would be the most reasonable medium for any publication ventures by the

Section. Informally the "interlocking directorships" have made the ties very close. But there is need to define the formal relationship more adequately, perhaps by assigning the Section some recognized advisory status or by other procedures.

There is also a proposal from an earlier year that the Section seek ways of developing a monograph series in social psychology. Differences of opinion exist regarding the extent of the need and the supply of manuscripts available. The Section has taken no action to further this proposal.

The Nominating Committee, under the chairmanship of Sanford Dornbusch, reports the following election results:

Chairman, 1962	Guy E. Swanson
Chairman-Elect	Alex Inkeles
Council Members (3 yrs)	John A. Clausen Theodore M. Newcomb
Council Member (1961-62)	Dorwin Cartwright
Secretary-Treasurer (3 yrs)	Fred Davis

Respectfully submitted,
RALPH H. TURNER
Chairman

Report of the Section on Methodology

The Section on Methodology held its first business and council meetings at the time of the Association meetings in New York last August.

The present officers of the Section are:

Daniel O. Price, Chairman
Leslie Kish, Chairman-Elect
Robert F. McGinnis, Secretary-Treasurer

The following Committees were appointed for the year 1960-61:

Program Committee

Robert McGinnis, Chairman
Paul Meadows
Edgar F. Borgatta
Daniel Price

Nominating Committee

Leslie Kish, Chairman
Sanford Dornbusch
William Kolb
Richard Hill
Irwin Sanders

Publications Committee

William S. Robinson, Chairman
(3 year term)
Linton C. Freeman (2 year term)
David Gold (1 year term)

At the annual meeting last year in New York the Section sponsored a panel discussion and two other sessions. Three sessions have been planned for the coming annual meeting.

The Publications Committee was requested to obtain additional information on the cost of publishing a journal on methodology.

Criteria for membership in the Section were discussed at the annual meeting and it was decided that any voting member of the Association who pays Section dues shall be admitted to the Section. There was also discussion of the function of the Section and some question as to its constitutionality.

The Nominating Committee in conjunction with the National Office conducted an election with the following outcome:

Chairman-Elect, Herbert Hyman
Council Members, David Gold, Hubert Blalock

Respectfully submitted,
DANIEL O. PRICE
Chairman

Report of the Section on Criminology

The Section on Criminology was created at the time of the annual meeting in 1960, but aside from the adoption of By-Laws and the election of officers and a Council, no specific actions appear to have been taken. In accord with these By-Laws the chairman later designated the length of the staggered terms of the Council members, in order to make possible the orderly election of two members of the Council in 1962. The Council has been unable to meet during the year and the business of the Section has been conducted by correspondence. This dealt chiefly with the appointment of a committee on nominations and some discussion of the relationship of the Section to the Association and the future program beyond the arrangements of meetings at the time of the annual conference of the Association. It is expected that this discussion will be continued and some conclusions arrived at, when the Council is able to convene in August.

Officers elected for the coming year are: Chairman-Elect, Lloyd E. Ohlin; Council Members (through 1964), Michael Hakeem and Clarence C. Schrag.

Respectfully submitted,
THORSTEN SELLIN
Chairman

Report of the Section on Medical Sociology

The officers of the Section on Medical Sociology are: Odin W. Anderson, Chairman; Sam-

uel W. Bloom, Secretary-Treasurer; Everett C. Hughes, George Reader, and Benjamin Paul, Members of the Council.

At the last Annual Meeting of the Section; held on August 28, 1960, the membership present authorized that the By-Laws of the Section be changed so that future elections would be held in coordination with the other Sections, i.e., June instead of November. The Nominating Committee, appointed at the 1960 Meeting, was instructed, however, to produce two sets of candidates for office, one slate to be elected in November, 1960, to take office in August, 1961, and the other slate to be elected in June, 1961, to take office in August, 1962. The Nominating Committee consisted of: Leo G. Reeder, Chairman; Dorrian Apple, William Caudill, Sol Levine, and Ray H. Elling.

According to the election held in November, the new officers are: Everett Hughes, Chairman, and Donald Young, Member of the Council; Hughes succeeding Odin W. Anderson, and Young succeeding Hughes. According to the election held in May, Harvey L. Smith will be Chairman-Elect during 1961-62, taking office in 1962. Ozzie G. Simmons was elected member of the Council to take office in September, 1961. The membership of the Section, during the two years of its existence since its establishment in 1960, has reached approximately 750.

The Section is continuing the policy decision regarding program of the Section at the Annual Meeting of the Association. The day set aside for the Section meetings, August 30th, was devoted to the Annual Business Meeting and to a critical review by three panelists of a study of importance to medical sociology. Scientific papers, classified as medical sociology, were limited to the regular sessions of the Association.

Respectfully submitted,
ODIN W. ANDERSON
Chairman

Report of the Section on Sociology of Education

Officers for the coming year are: Chairman, Burton Clark; Chairman-Elect, Martin A. Trow; Secretary-Treasurer, David Gottlieb; Council, Howard S. Becker, Leila Sussman, David Riesman, Melvin Tumin, Wilbur Brookover, and Neal Gross.

Membership in the Section now numbers 312.

During the year the Committee on Publications prepared a recommendation regarding the desirable course of action by the American Sociological Association in regard to the spon-

sorship of the *Journal of Educational Sociology*.

Three matters received attention from the council of the Section and resulted in policy recommendations. The first concerned the role of the Section with respect to the education of secondary and elementary school teachers of the social sciences, and the introduction of sociology into the secondary school curriculum. The second was the possibility of sponsoring in 1962 a special session in cooperation with the International Sociological Association at its meeting in Washington, D. C., and the re-

lated possibility of there being established a subcommittee of the ISA devoted to sociology and education. The third consideration was that of working relations of the Section and its members with federal governmental agencies concerned with education, and the possible need for a standing committee of the Section to be concerned with these relations.

Respectfully submitted,
ORVILLE G. BRIM
Chairman

NEWS AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Calendar of Annual Meetings, December and January. Dec. 9, 10, *Academy of Psychoanalysis*, Hotel Commodore, NYC;—Dec. 26 to 31, *American Association for the Advancement of Science*, Denver-Hilton Hotel, Denver, Colo.;—Dec. 29, 30, *American Society of Criminology*, Brown Palace Hotel, Denver;—Dec. 27 to 29, *American Economics Association*, NYC;—Dec. 27 to 30, *American Statistical Association*, Roosevelt Hotel, NYC;—Jan. 17, *Association for Psychiatric Treatment of Offenders*, Academy of Science, NYC;—Jan. 24 to 27, *American Group Psychotherapy Association*, NYC.

American Council on Education. Howard R. Booser has resigned from the staff in Washington, D.C. to become Assistant Director of the North Carolina Board of Higher Education in Raleigh.

American Sociological Association. Announcement of the program co-sponsored with Section K of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at their annual meeting in Denver, December 26 to 31, was made by Conrad Taeuber, Chairman, as follows: Brown Palace Hotel, December 29, 9:00 A.M. Session on THE SOCIOLOGY OF MEDICINE: PROBLEMS AND PROSPECTS, *Chairman and Session Organizer*, Ozzie G. Simmons, University of Colorado. Speakers and title of papers are Edmund H. Volkart, Stanford University, "Bio-Social Aspects of Disease;" Odin W. Anderson, Health Information Foundation, "The Relationship of Research Methodology to Problems in the Health Fields;" Cecil G. Sheps, Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh, "Helping Medicine Fulfill Its Social Functions;" Nicholas J. Demerath, Washington University, "The Place of the Sciences of Administration in Medical Care."

Conference Board of Associated Research Councils. The Committee on International Exchange of Persons announces the availability to United States citizens of a lecture award in sociology at the University of Tehran under the 1962-1963 Fulbright Program with Iran. Preference will be given to a senior scholar with several years of teaching experience. Applications may be obtained

from the above Committee, 2101 Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington 25, D.C.

Massachusetts Department of Public Health announces the appointment of Thomas F. A. Plaut as Director of the Alcoholism Program. Plaut will continue to serve as Clinical Associate at the Harvard School of Public Health.

Midwest Sociological Society. Newly elected officers of the Midwest Sociological Society for the year 1961-62 are Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota, President, and Marvin J. Taves, University of Minnesota, Vice President. Wayne Wheeler, Kansas City Study of Adult Life, formerly Secretary-Treasurer of the Society, continues as Secretary and E. G. McCurtain, University of Omaha, has been appointed by the Executive Committee to the post of Treasurer. New members of the Executive Committee are Alan P. Bates, University of Nebraska, Courtney B. Cleland, North Dakota State University, Edwin A. Christ, University of South Dakota, and Gladys Ishida, Wisconsin State College, Stevens Point.

The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Meeting (twenty-sixth annual meeting) of the Society will be held at the Hotel Savery, Des Moines, Iowa, April 12-14, 1962. Lewis J. McNurlen, Drake University, is Chairman of local arrangements.

National Council on Family Relations. The 1961 E. W. Burgess Award for Excellence in Family Research for the best family research of article length published in 1959-60 was awarded to Melvin Kohn of the National Institute of Mental Health, for his article published in the *American Sociological Review* entitled "Social Class and the Exercise of Parental Authority."

National Science Foundation. The Division of Social Sciences announces that the next closing date for receipt of basic research proposals in the social sciences is February 1, 1962. Proposals received prior to this date will be disposed of approximately four months later. Proposals received after February 1 will be reviewed following the summer closing date of May 1. Inquiries should be

addressed to the Division of Social Sciences, National Science Foundation, Washington 25, D.C.

Social Science Research Center, Athens, Greece. The Center was established in December, 1959 by government decree in order to promote the study of the social sciences in Greece. Under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, it is directed by an eleven-member council composed of professors from the Universities of Athens and Salonica, and government experts. Stratis Andreadis is serving as President. UNESCO assistance to the Center provides two scholarships, endowment of the library, and equipment. UNESCO also appointed John G. Peristiany, a social anthropologist at Oxford, as consultant and W. H. Simonsz as associate consultant to coordinate and guide the operations of the Center. Further assistance offered by the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes includes plans to extend collaboration between French sociologists and the Center.

Work during the past summer has been conducted along two different but parallel lines. In June, researchers scattered in widely separated regions of Greece convened in seminars at the Center to report on the progress of their work. Among the participants were John Andromedas, working under a Social Science Research Council grant, F. Gearing, in Greece under grants from the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health, J. Campbell, a social anthropologist at Oxford, J. G. Peristiany, and Michael Choukas.

In July, the Center held a Colloquium of social scientists interested in the Mediterranean area. Participants were: J. Andromedas, Columbia University; J. Caro Baroja, Madrid; R. Baryoseph, Jerusalem; P. Bourdieu, C. Heller, and I. Chiva, Paris; M. Choukas, Dartmouth College; E. Friedl, Queens College, N. Y.; F. Gearing and J. Pitt-Rivers, University of Chicago; E. Gellner, London School of Economics; M. Jameson, University of Pennsylvania; E. Katsaros, Athens; B. Kayser, Toulouse; H. Levy, Hunter College; J. Peristiany and J. Campbell, Oxford; W. Simonsz, Holland.

Future activities of the Center now under consideration are the publication of works by Greek social scientists, translations of sociological classics into Greek, and the publication of a journal of Mediterranean social studies.

The Society for the Scientific Study of Religion published the first issue of the *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* in October. The Journal presents empirical and theoretical studies of religion, principally in the behavioral sciences. Information about subscriptions or a sample copy of the first issue may be obtained by writing to the Society at 409 Prospect Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut. Editorial correspondence should be addressed to the Editor, Dr. Prentiss Pemberton, 1100 South Goodman Street, Rochester 20, New York.

University of Colorado. Appointed—John Fletcher-Cooke, Visiting Professor of Sociology, formerly Deputy Governor of Tanganyika and United Kingdom delegate to the United Nations,

to teach in the University's first program of studies in African affairs.

Concord College, West Virginia. Appointed—Dean G. Epley, first Director of Guidance and Counseling, and Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, formerly Chairman of the Department of Human Relations at the University of Miami.

Emory University. Appointed—John T. Doby, Chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology; Gordon E. Cochrane, Visiting Instructor, from Los Angeles Pacific College. Promoted—Jerry L. L. Miller, to Assistant Professor. Retired—Allen D. Albert, Jr., as Professor Emeritus. Other—Visiting Professors last year were Raymond B. Sletto from Ohio State University during the winter quarter and E. William Noland from the University of North Carolina during the summer quarter.

Grinnell College. Appointed—Lathrop B. Beale, Charles L. Mulford, and Ronald J. Kurtz, as Assistant Professors of Sociology and Anthropology.

Hamline University. Appointed to the teaching staff—Amy Russell, formerly of Iowa State University. Resigned—Julianne Schmidt. Awarded—to Leland Cooper, a National Science Foundation grant of 10,200 dollars for archaeological research at Late Woodland Indian sites during his current sabbatical year.

University of Kentucky. Appointed—Frank A. Santopolo, Associate Professor in Rural Sociology and Extension Specialist, formerly Community Development Advisor to Pakistan for the International Cooperation Administration; Marion Pearsall, to the staff of the Department of Anthropology, and continuing as Associate Professor in the Departments of Behavioral Science and Rural Sociology; Basil Sherlock, Instructor in the Department of Behavioral Science and Russell Sage Resident; Cyrus M. Johnson, Instructor in Sociology; Gordon F. DeJong and Narsi B. Patel, to the Sociology teaching staff. Promoted—Jiri T. Kolaja, to Associate Professor; E. Grant Youmans, to Associate Professor of Rural Sociology, who also will continue as analyst for the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch of the U.S. Department of Agriculture. On leave—James W. Gladden, to serve as President of the Blue Ridge Assembly of the Southern YMCA.

Awarded—to Joseph J. Mangalam, a Rockefeller grant to complete a study of low academic performance in the University of the Punjab, Pakistan;—to the Department, a National Institute of Mental Health grant extension to continue the Beech Creek study of adjustments of migrants, under the direction of James S. Brown and Harry K. Schwarzweller. Other—Willis A. Sutton directed the Annual Seminar in Intergroup Relations co-sponsored by the National Conference of Christians and Jews last summer and convened the first statewide Kentucky Community Development Workers' Conference, sponsored by the Department's Bureau of Community Service, to form a state

council on area and community development;—the Department is expanding its program in demography and has established, jointly with the Department of Behavioral Science, a demographic laboratory.

Marquette University. **Appointed**—Paul J. Reiss, Chairman of the Department and Editor of the *American Catholic Sociological Review*; John Snyder, S.J., Instructor. **On leave**—Frank Atelsek, for one year to serve on the Senate Special Committee on Aging. **Retired**—Arthur Donohue. **Others in the Department**—Jack Curtis, Bela Kovrig, and Rudolph Morris, Professors; Joseph McGee, Associate Professor; Thomas Burch, Instructor; Stephen Borhegyi and Robert Holzhauser, Lecturers.

University of Michigan. **Established**—Population Studies Center, to expand the programs of training and research in population studies under the Sociology Department. Among the major research activities is a program on population and public policy, jointly sponsored by the Center and the Institute of Public Administration. Supported by a Ford Foundation grant, the Center offers fellowships and travel grants and plans to develop a cooperative program of population studies with institutes abroad. **Appointed to the Center**—Ronald Freedman, Director; Amos H. Hawley and David Goldberg, Associate Directors.

City College of New York. **Appointed**—Assistant Professors of Sociology: F. W. Howton, formerly of Los Angeles State College, and Edward Rothstein, formerly of Dickinson College; Lecturers: Richard Korn, sociology, George C. O'Neill, anthropology, and John A. Gabriel, social work. **Re-Elected**—Milton Barron, as Chairman of the Department, and will also serve on the National Science Foundation Panel for undergraduate awards. **Returned to the Department**—Bernard Rosenberg who spent the past year as Fulbright Lecturer in Argentina. **On leave**—Lawrence Podell, to spend a sabbatical year doing research for the Interdepartmental Neighborhood Committee of New York City; Burt Aginsky, Warren Brown, and Martin Haskell. **Awarded**—to Martin Haskell, the Society for the Study of Social Problems' annual prize for the best theoretical statement in social problems for his recent article on juvenile delinquency.

Purdue University. **Appointed**—Karl G. Zollschan, Assistant Professor, formerly of Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City; Bernice Z. Goldstein, Instructor; Eugene D. Selmanoff, Instructor, who also is director of a nursing research project conducted at Indiana University's School of Medicine supported by a grant from the National Institutes of Health. **On leave**—Dwight W. Culver, to become Associate Director of the Lilly Endowment Study of Pre-Seminary Education in Minneapolis. **Elected**—Edward Z. Dager, President of the Indiana Council on Family Relations. **Other**—

Kaare Svalastoga served as Visiting Lecturer from the University of Copenhagen last September.

Rhode Island College. **Appointed**—Sarah E. Curwood, Associate Professor of Sociology, formerly of Antioch College. **Promoted**—Lawrence W. Lindquist, to Associate Professor of Social Sciences.

St. Louis University. **Appointed**—Allan Spitzer, Visiting Lecturer at the Summer School of the Jamaica General Trained Nurses Association under the auspices of the West Indies School of Public Health. **Other**—Field work on the social anthropology of religion was conducted for the second summer at the invitation of the Tribal Council of the Florida Seminole. Field work arrangements in conjunction with the Department's new Ph.D. program have been made with the Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies.

San Francisco State College. **Appointed**—Robert Blauner, Assistant Professor; Charles Allyn, Instructor. **Awarded**—to Donald L. Garrity, a Ford Foundation grant to study British treatment of youthful offenders at the Home Office, London. **Others in the Department**—Dale Freeman, Don Gibbons (Acting Chairman), Samuel Johnson, John Kinch, Carlo Lastrucci, George Outland, Frederic Terrien, and Sidney Wilhelm.

Suffolk County Community College. **Appointed**—Donald S. Dushkind, Assistant Professor of Sociology and Psychology, formerly of Adelphi College, and currently serving as a member of the Advisory Board of Service for Prisoners Aid in Long Island.

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NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

to the *American Sociological Review*

I. Preparation of Articles, Research Reports, and Book Reviews sent to Editor

Papers are evaluated by the editors and other referees and are judged without author's name or institutional identification. Therefore, contributors are asked to attach a cover page giving the title, author's name, and institutional affiliation; the manuscript should bear only the title as a means of identification. At least two, and preferably three, copies should be submitted to enable prompt evaluation, but the author should retain a copy in his own files.

Manuscripts are accepted subject to usual editing.

An abstract of about 100-125 words should accompany articles (but not research reports); it should present the principal substantive and methodological points.

Please prepare copy as follows:

1. All copy, including indented matter, should be typed *double spaced* on white standard paper. Lines should not exceed 5-6 inches.
2. A footnote to the title, author's name, or his affiliation should be starred (*). Other footnotes should be numbered serially, typed *double spaced*, and should be listed at the end of the article or research report. Sample footnote formats are presented below. Please note that full names are used, not initials.
3. Each table should be typed on a separate page. Insert a guide line, e.g., "Table 1 about here," at the appropriate place in the manuscript. See current issues of the *Review* for tabular style.
4. Figures should be drawn on white paper with India ink and the original tracings or drawings should be retained by the author for direct transmission to the printer. Copies should accompany the manuscript.
5. Mathematical notation should be provided both in symbols and words. Explanatory notes not intended for printing should be encircled in pencil.
6. If any figures are used that might confuse the printer, please clarify in the margin of the manuscript.

Sample Footnote Formats

* Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, August, 1959.

1. Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Cambridge: Addison-Wesley, 1954, p. 298.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 299-300.
3. Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working-Class Authoritarianism," *American Sociological Review*, 24 (August, 1959), pp. 482-501.
4. Bruno Bettelheim and Morris Janowitz, *Dynamics of Prejudice*, New York: Harper, 1950.
5. Robert K. Merton, "Discrimination and the American Creed," in Robert M. MacIver, editor, *Discrimination and National Welfare*, New York: Harper, 1949, pp. 99-126.
6. Herbert Menzel, James C. Coleman, and Elihu Katz, "Dimensions of Being 'Modern' in Medical Practice," *Journal of Chronic Diseases*, 9 (January, 1959), pp. 20-40.
7. Committee on Nomenclature and Statistics of the American Psychiatric Association, *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual: Mental Disorders*, Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1952, pp. 12-13.

II. Preparation of News and Announcements sent to Executive Office

These columns may include notices of academic appointments, promotions, resignations, visiting professorships, leaves of absence, special awards, appointments to governmental and private organizations, new training programs, and major curricular developments, special research projects and grants, special conferences and institutes, retirements, and deaths. *Do not include*: publications by department members (these will appear in "Publications Received" and many will be reviewed), appointments to graduate assistantships, the conferral of graduate degrees (which are reported annually in the *American Journal of Sociology*) or of graduate work in progress, public lectures, televised courses, papers, delivered at conferences, and brochures. Notices should be *concise*. See current issues of the *Review* for editing style. It is suggested that each department assign one person the responsibility of assembling and transmitting news and announcements.

Notices of professional interest from governmental and other non-academic agencies are welcome.

Foreign sociologists planning to visit the United States who are interested in meeting American sociologists are invited to send their itineraries and other pertinent details to the Executive Office. These will be published under the heading, "Sociologists from Abroad." Please see *Time Schedule*.

The *Review* reserves the right to edit or exclude all items.

Time Schedule: To insure publication, announcements must be received no later than the beginning of the third month preceding the month of issue; for example, to be included in the October issue, material must be received by July 1.

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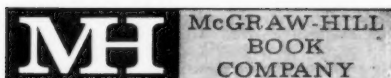
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